

INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATANJALI

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FOREWORD

Shri Baijnath Puri has rendered a service to the students of Ancient India in presenting a readable account of the valuable materials embedded in Patañjali's 'Mahābhāṣya'.

The 'Mahābhāṣya', intended both as a commentary on and a supplement to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, is a very important source book for the history of the two centuries preceding Christ in India. It also throws light on the extensive and intimate literature which prevailed during those centuries.

Apart from the *Saṁhitas*, *Dharma Sūtras*, *Smṛtis* and the great Epics, Patañjali refers to several *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakas*, which unfortunately are mere names to us, indicating the great literary activity of the period.

The geographical information which can be culled from this work indicates the knowledge which cultured people, in those days, possessed of the rivers, mountains, cities and kingdoms of India.

I congratulate Shri Puri on the very useful book which he has prepared.

K. M. Munshi

Bombay,
8. 11. 1957.

INTRODUCTION

In contradistinction to the majority of ancient Indian writers, the grammarian Patañjali is one whose date it has been possible to fix with some precision. It is true that a variety of conflicting theories on this subject have from time to time been proposed, a summary of which will be found in Dr. Puri's first chapter, but nevertheless the unambiguous references to Puṣyamitra and the invasion of the Yavanas are decisive in fixing the grammarian's date in the middle of the second Century B. C. This gives particular value to the Mahābhāṣya as a source of information on the history, on the social and cultural life, and in fact on every subject that concerns India in this period.

Of course it was not the purpose of Patañjali to provide information on these diverse topics, but simply to comment on those sūtras of Pāṇini which were effected by the vārttikas of Kātyāyana. So all such information is provided incidentally in the course of discussing grammatical problems, but since the bulk of the work is very extensive, and in the course of it all kinds of topics are touched on, the amount of such incidental information is considerable. So in order to gain a picture of Indian life and civilisation in the second century B. C. a study of the grammarian is essential. In the present work Dr. Puri has set himself the task a complete account of such material, appropriately arranged, and in order to do so he has been through the text of the Mahābhāṣya with a fine comb, and extracted all the information that is of value. The singular importance of this is that it has bearing on a specific period of time, and its value is not diminished, as is the case with so many ancient works, by uncertainty as to the time of composition.

This is a period of the greatest importance in the political and cultural history of India, but it is one for which the sources are regrettably scanty. The great inscriptional activity of Aśoka was not emulated by his successors, nor by the succeeding dynasties, the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas. On the other hand the custom of inscribing

copper plates, where so much of the later history is to be found, had not yet begun. There are a few short inscriptions, inscribed coins begin to appear, the king-lists are preserved in the Purāṇa account, some semi-historical Buddhist legends, not notable for accuracy, exist, a distant echo of the times is preserved in a play produced many centuries later, the Mālavikāgnimitra , and so on. All these have been examined in detail by the author, and the contributions they have to make are incorporated in the work. A different source of information comes from the Greeks, who at this time were in occupation of the North-west, but it must be admitted that concerning the central Indian homeland they have not very much to tell.

One cannot be sure of the details of Kālidāsa's story on account of the long period that elapsed between the events themselves and the composition of the play. Nor do we know anything about the immediate sources on which the poet relied. Nevertheless it is significant the memory of the Śuṅga Agnimitra should have remained alive over the centuries significant because the number of ancient Indian monarchs to whom this happened is singularly small. If we consult the play as to why his fame remained secure the answer will be because of his victory of the Yavanas, the chief political event in the play. We know from both Patañjali and the Gārgī-saṁhitā of the extent of the Yavana conquests, and from a well-known passage of the Purāṇa of the consternation that was caused by these inroads, and the repelling of these was a major achievement of the Śuṅga kings.

Culturally the most significant feature of the epoch was the return to Brahmanical orthodoxy which set in after the fall of the Mauryas. The horse-sacrifices of Puṣyamitra, and the large gifts to Brahmans involved, replace the charities which Aśoka had lavished on the Buddhist order. No doubt the Buddhist legends, which represent Puṣyamitra as a persecutor, are exaggerated, and they are contradicted by the signs of the prosperity of the order preserved by existing monuments. Nevertheless there may be some grain of truth in them, and in any case the Buddhists must have found the change of the dynasty exceedingly unwelcome.

This return to orthodoxy is paralleled in the linguistic field by a preference of Sanskrit to Prākrit, as the vehicle of literature and culture. The Buddhists and Jains had used middle Indian as the medium of their sacred literature, and the Mauryan kings had followed suit in their inscriptions. If the tendency had gone on Sanskrit might have been eclipsed by Prākrit, but at this very period the process was put in reverse. It is true that for some time Prākrit continued to be used in inscriptions, and Prākrit also to be extensively cultivated, but the fact that early in the Christian era Sanskrit inscriptions begin to appear, and that at the same time Buddhists are writing in good Sanskrit, is not a sudden development but the result of gradual evolution over the preceding centuries. The turning point is the emergence of the Śuṅga dynasty.

The great contemporary monument of this movement is the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, who essayed and achieved the task of establishing the pure and uncorrupted form of his language based on Pāṇini as the unchallenged primary language of India. His references to such things as the sacrifice of Puṣyamitra indicates the social and religious changes which were taking place, as well as his own attitude of whole hearted approval. In many other respects this period is a turning point. The Drama and the Kāvya in their classical form have their origin in this period, and the references in Patañjali to these subjects are fundamental to their early history. The Bhāgavata and Śaiva religions begin to take on the form which is familiar later, and formed a counter-attraction to Buddhism and Jainism for those to whom the Vedas were a closed book. The philosophies later codified in the six Darśanas are in process of development. Artistic activity is abundant and meritorious as can be gathered from Dr. Puri's chapter on that subject. In general one may say that this period is one of the most interesting in Indian history, even though it is one for which direct sources are meagre. Future discoveries may have surprises in store, but what information is available now concerning it, will be found in this book.

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PREFACE

Patañjali, the Bhāṣyakāra, is to be distinguished from the Yoga Sūtrakāra of the name sake and there is no ground of confusing the two. The present work is concerned with the former who is well known for his comment on the Sūtras of Pāṇini in the light of Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas*. He wrote his work for the Śiṣṭas, the Brahmin intelligents of Āryāvarta opportunely, when Sanskrit was losing its popularity with the emergence of provincial literary dialects. His aim was to make the Śiṣṭas understand the difficult rules of grammar, and to preserve the chastity of language. In this work, Patañjali makes repeated references to the personality of Puṣyamitra, to the invasion of the Yavanas who besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Madhyamikā (near Chittor), and the Yajñas performed by the Śuṅga monarch. It is now commonly conceded that Patañjali, the *Bhāṣyakāra*, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He seems to have witnessed the Yavana invasion and presumably officiated at the sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch.

In the Introductory Chapter, I have considered at length the traditions about the composition of the work, its sanctity, and the different accounts relating to the birth of its author. Arguments for and against the identification of two or more Patañjalis, as adduced by scholars, have been fully weighed. The parentage and birth-place of Patañjali have been considered in the light of the references in Mahābhāṣya to *Goṇikāputra* and *Gonarddīya*. Presumably the name of his mother was *Goṇikā*. Here one is not inclined to agree with R. G. Bhandarkar that Patañjali's birthplace was Gonda in Avadha, or that he was a native of the Deccan, as suggested by P. C. Chakravarty.

The Second Chapter is devoted to a detailed history of Northern India from the second century B. C. to the dawn of Christian era. The main events of the reign of Puṣyamitra - the Vidarbha war, Yavana invasions, twice performance of Aśvamedha sacrifices, and the supposed invasion by King Khāravela of Kalinga-are considered

in detail on the basis of the available sources. There is little reason to presume the contemporaneity of Khāravela and Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga monarch, who can not be identified with Bahasatimitra. The history of the later Śuṅgas, followed by the Kāṇvas, is inexplicable save for the names of the rulers and the period of their rule, but the Besnagar inscription suggests the existence of diplomatic relations between the Śuṅgas and the Indo-Greeks who were well-settled in the Punjab. The provincial dynasties of Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Kaliṅga and certain tribes have also been dealt with. The study is based principally on coins and a few inscriptions. There is no ground for identifying the local rulers of Pañcala, for name sake, with the Śuṅga kings. In this Chapter the history of the two Indo-Greek families of Euthydemus and Eucratides and that of the Śakas has also been considered. Patañjali also refers to the Śakas and Yavanas in his work. The history of Kaliṅga under Khārvela and his probable date, and the original home of the Āndhras, who uprooted the Kaṇvās and the last remnants of the Śuṅgas, are also taken into account. The evidence relating to the political history of this period is scanty and in the words of the late professor Rapson, 'we can only define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance.'

The Geographical information in the Mahābhāṣya is not so exhaustive as in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, probably due to the fact that the Bhāṣyākāra does not comment on certain Sūtras relating to geographical data. His work is, however, comprehensive enough to afford an idea of the different Janapadas or Kingdoms with which Patañjali was familiar. He is more particular about Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭas and defines boundaries which can be verified from the information provided by the Smṛtikāras on the point. But he is by no means restricted. One finds reference to the settlements of the Yavanas, the Janapadas of the North-West - Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra, those in the East-Aṅga, Magadha, Kalinga and Prāgdésa ; Sindhu, Sauvīra and Surāṣṭra in the West, and Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala in the South. He also refers to the important cities of Northern India, and to a few in the Southern, like Nāsikya and Kāñcipura. One also finds reference to the physical geography, rivers and mountains etc.

The information relating to social life in the *Mahābhāṣya* is exhaustive enough and it is discussed under different headings-Division of Society, Family Life, Food, Household effects, Dress and Ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social Evils and other Miscellaneous items of social interest. Here the evidence provided by the Bhārhut sculptures depicting the life of the people is also taken into account The Bhāṣyakāra was anxious to preserve the purity of the Brāhmaṇas but he has referred to certain mixed castes which can be checked up with the information given by Manu. The social standard was fairly high, as may be judged by the information regarding food, dress and ornaments etc. contained in the Māhabhāṣya and corroborated by sculptures. The ladies seem to have enjoyed codsiderable freedom. Pastime and recreations varying naturally, according to the age and popular taste, included dramatic performances, playing on musical instruments, magic shows, and the game of dice with sundry items. The evils in the social life have also been dully noticed.

The economic life was fully developed, and, though Patñajali makes no mention of trade guids noticed in earlier and later literature, he refers to many professions-the *Pañcakāruki* - the five artisan classes, workers in metals, masons and architects, domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, and other professions like those of the fowler and the fishermen. Agriculture and husbandry have also been considered, and there are references to the different types of land, methods of sowing, agricultural implements, seed and crops, irrigation facilities, reaping and cutting of the crop, grain storage and other such miscellaneous items relating to rural economy, as the hiring of agricultural labour. The subject of merchandise includes trade stipulations vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shop and markets, import and export of trade, medium of exchange, barter and banking. Patañjali provides information on all these topics. His references to different types of coins-gold, silver and copper-are corroborated by the finds of punch-marked coins of copper and silver only. Weights and measures are also mentioned ensuring full value for the money paid in

the daily transactions. Money lending was known and Patañjali also refers to the rate of interest. The Bhāṣyakāra refers to the means of communication as well as to the communication between the North and the South.

The educational life, traceable from the stray references in the *Mahābhāṣya*, was systematically planned. This Chapter includes references to different subjects of study, especially for different classes, methods of study-deductive and inductive, place and time of study, the relations between the preceptor and his pupils, unworthy pupils and preceptors, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writings, and female education. The picture painted by the *Bhāṣyakara* is faithful and he has not failed to notice the shortcomings. Education was, to a great extent, free, and the teachers depended for livelihood on the munificence of the householders and on the gifts from the departing students, but some teachers known as *Khaṇḍikopādhyāya* did charge for their instruction. The student was expected to conform to the terms of residence, and any one seeking to enjoy a householder's life during this period was treated with contempt as a delinquent.

The accession to power of Puṣyamitra, the Brāhmaṇa general, raised high hopes for the revival of sacrifices as mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. It would be unfair to suggest, on the basis of the account given by the *Divyāvadāna* and a later work, *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*, that the Śuṅga monarch attempted to destroy Buddhist monasteries and was hostile to the faith of the Tathāgata. Were such the case, the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut and Sāñchī could not have been set up in this period. It is better, therefore, to keep an open mind on the subject. Patañjali mentions different types of sacrifices *Agniṣṭoma Rājasūya*, *Vājapeya* and the domestic ones, popularly called *Pākayajñas* and *Pañcayajñas*, the setting of the Yūpas, Soma drinking, priests, accessories and duration of sacrifices. The Vedic practices were also symbolised with the Vedic divinities which are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya along with other post-Vedic ones. The references to Bhāgavata and Śaiva cults suggest the prosperity of this popular

phase of Brahamanism. Certain inscriptions also testify to the flourishing stage of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata cult, associated first with the Vṛṣṇis but later extended to the north-east. There were temples in which images of these divinities were set up, and there were festival gatherings. Balarāma, Saṁkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha were associated with this cult. Patañjali mentions certain ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, who believed in inactivity and carried three staves, the *Daṇḍakṣatris* with a single staff, and vagrant ones (*Yāyāvara*.) The worship of the Yakṣas and the Nāgas with their female consorts was also known. Buddhism was not inactive, and it was steadily on the increase in the north, as suggested by Kern, during this period, and so also was Jainism with its centres at Mathurā and in Kaliṅga. The materialists called Lokāyatikas, deriving their philosophy from Bhāguri, are also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.

In the Chapter on literature, Patañjali's position as a scholar, conversant with the Vedic, Smṛti and classical literature has been assessed. Parallelism can be traced between the Mahābhāṣya and the Vedic literature on the one hand, and the Smṛtis on the other. It is natural that the Bhāṣyākara should have utilised his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar, but, as to the Smṛti passages, probably there was a common sources for both, and it would be unsafe to presume that he borrowed from the extant Smṛtis. The references to the *Vararuci Kāvya* and the use of several new metres in the *Mahābhāṣya* demand the presumption that the period of classical literature be pushed back earlier than assumed at present. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known, and in the light of references to actors and the staging of religious plays, it may be presumed that Indian drama and dramatic plays were certainly known in the time of Patañjali. Certain other data in the Mahābhāṣya, as for instance, those relating to popular literature, and maxims, philosophy, medicine and surgery, and flora and fauna, have also been considered. It is very probable that there was literature on practiclly all these subjects known to Patañjali. The Bhāṣyakāra made an earnest attempt to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles. Here particular mention may be made of the doctrine of *Sphoṭa* - the eternality of *Śabda*. Lastly,

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Patañjali, the last of the three sages, who gave a finishing touch to Pāṇinian system of grammar, is notable for his *Mahābhāṣya.* Traditional accounts accord him a divine status, and he is deified as a Bhagavat by Rāmabhadra[1]. The importance of his work is, no doubt, enhanced, when one takes into account the conditions under which, and the people for whom, it was written. At a time when the sūtras of Pāṇini, in the light of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, had created some confusion in the minds of the Śiṣṭas, the well-read Brāhmaṇas, and Sanskrit language was fast losing its popularity due to the emergence of provincial literary dialects, Patañjali undertook the self-imposed task of preserving its

1. According to the traditional account, given by Rāmabhadra in his '*Patañjali-Carita*', he was an incarnation of Śeṣa and that was the reason for the *Mahābhāṣya* being also known as *Phaṇibhāṣya (Phaṇibhāṣita bhāṣyābdheḥ Śabdakaustubha Uddhṛtaḥ*—Cf. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa—*Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa,* kār I.) The story of his birth is described in detail by Rāmabhadra. In the *Patañjalicarita,* the Śeṣa makes an appearance in the form of a snake in the hands of Goṇikā, a female ascetic. Falling from the *añjali* or cavity of his mother, he was known as Patañjali *(tavāñjalau mahābhāga patito 'ham hitāya te—Patcar.* II. 8f.) According to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, he is said to have fallen from the añjali of a sage, while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonardda. After the fall, he assumed the shape of a boy and obtaining permission from Goṇikā, his mother, he proceeded to the Southern Coast for the performance of *tapas (Gonarddeśe kasyacid ṛṣer añjaleḥ sandhyākaraṇasamaye patitā ity aitihyam.* The *Bṛhadgaṇeśa-kalpalatā* suggests the fall of Śeṣa, as ordained by Gaṇeśa, into the hands of a sage, and divulging the secret of his ascetic form to him; Cf. I.H.Q. Vol. II, p. 262.

chaste character.[1] Its production, in conformity with the spirit of the time, aimed at making the Śiṣṭas appreciate and properly understand the sūtras of Pāṇini in a scientific manner. In so doing, he closely examined the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, his predecessor, in a critical spirit.

According to the late Professor Kielhorn,[2] it would be wrong to suppose that all the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana have been refuted by Patañjali with a view to supporting Pāṇini. The real task of this great commentator was to bring within the range of discussion those sūtras of Pāṇini which were objected to by Kātyāyana, and his reaction to those criticisms, as well as to others, left out by his predecessor. Patañjali, therefore, has not been a critic of Kātyāyana all through; but in some cases he also endorses the

1. Here again Rāmabhadra cites a few ślokas to show that the birth of Patañjali was to reprieve the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and justify Pāṇini, and explain his sūtras.

Kātyāyanaḥ karkaśayā prāsādya tapasyayā Candrakalāvatamsam
tasyātha sūtreṣu padārthabodhapravartakam vārttikamābabandha I. 52.
prayuktayā vyākaraṇasya sūtraiḥ savārttikaiḥ sādhutayā padānām.
adugdha gaur laukikavaidikātmā cirāya dugdham tridivam janānām I. 53.
śrutvā nijasyopari Vārttikāni sūtraprabandhasya sa sūtrakāraḥ
Kātyāyanena grathitāny akupyat kālo hi dhīre 'pi karoti moham I. 54.
prakampitoṣṭham parivartitākṣam pādakramaṇy añcita bhūmibhāgam.
tamāśramam Pāṇinir ājagāma Kātyayānas tiṣṭhati yatra yogī I. 55.

Whether we may agree with Rāmabhadra in his conclusions or not, especially, on the aspersions cast against Kātyāyana, it is certain that Pāṇini's sūtras needed explanation for making them easily understandable, and in this Patañjali did his job well.

M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī expressed his views in a similar manner. He contended that Patañjali wrote his *Bhaṣya* for a language which was fast vanishing, and going out of use. It is a well-known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars had grown up in different provinces, and that he was legislating for the speech of the Śiṣṭas only—the well-to-do Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of Āryāvarta. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. II. pp. 32-3.

2. *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* pp. 50 ff.

views of the Vārttikakāra and questions Pāṇini on certain matters, which had escaped the notice of his predecessor. This led Kaiyaṭa, the commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya* to lay down the rule that the later the Muni, the greater is his authority.[1] It does not, however, in any way minimise the greatness of the two predecessors whom Patañjali himself has venerated;[2] but such an assertion by Kaiyaṭa has some value when one traces the progress, or the change, in the Sanskrit dialect, between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. This fact was also noticed by Goldstücker.[3]

Patañjali, in giving a new setting to the sūtras of Pāṇini, availed himself of the opportunity for presenting a picture of India of his time. On this point, one entirely agrees with Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*,[4] who wrote a running commentary

1. *Yathottaram munitrayasya prāmāṇyam*—cf. com. on. I. 1.29.

2. Cf. *Vārttikavacanaprāmāṇya.* II. 1. 1. p. 371 L. 18; also other references to Vārttikakāra I. 1.34 p. 93 L. 5; III.1. 44 p. 53 L. 1; III, 2. 118 p. 121 L. 9; VIII. 1. 1. q. 238 L. 9.

3. According to Goldstucker, "the position of Patañjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he could more properly be called an author of Vārttikās. But, as he had two predecessors to deal with instead of one—and two predecessors, too, one of whom being an adversary of the other,—his great commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he had to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini, and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikās of this later grammarian; and thus the *Mahābhāṣya* became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, while its *Iṣṭis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his original remarks" *Pāṇini* p. 119.

4. II. 484-488. The account, as given by Bhartṛhari in five ślokas in his *Vākyapadīya*, is interesting, as it shows how this great commentary was written to preserve the continuity of the Vyākaraṇa Smṛti. These references suggest that, when Patañjali wrote his great commentary, he tried to put in it the essence of all sciences—the germs of all principles. They are important, not only for understanding the history of grammar, but also in evaluating the *Mahābhāṣya*

on the *Mahābhāṣya* which has been referred to by I-tsing.[1] In the words of celebrated poet, the *Mahābhāṣya* contains the germs of all principles—religious, social, scientific and moral[2]. The Bhāṣyakāra could not avoid references to topics of current interest, while explaining the sūtras, or in examining the vārttikas of his precursor. A close study of this data considerably helps in fixing the date of Patañjali, and also in revealing the condition of India of his time—social, economic, religious, educational, and also political to a certain extent. A good deal of information is also supplied by this work on Indian geography—cities, rivers, and villages; and on other miscellaneous topics.

Patañjali's time:—

This question has been threshed out by scholars[3] with inconclusive results. Their views are conflicting and the composition of

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for its throwing light on the cultural condition of India in the time when it was written. The ślokas may be quoted here in original. The last one, however, refers to the decline of its study, till it was revived in the South.

Prāyeṇa saṃkṣeparucīn alpavidyāparigrahān
samprāpya vaiyākaraṇān saṃgrāhe 'stam upāgate. II. 484
kṛte 'tha Patañjlinā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā
sarveṣām nyāyavījānām Māhābhāṣye nibandhane II. 485
alabdhagādhe gāmbhīryād uttāna iva sāuṣṭhāvāt
tasminn akṛtabudhīnām naivā 'vāsthita niścayaḥ II. 486
Vaiji-Saubhava-Haryyakṣaiḥ śuṣkatarkānusāribhiḥ
ārṣe viplāvite granthe saṃgrahapratikañcuke II. 487
yaḥ Patañjaliśiṣyebhyo bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamaḥ
kāle sa dākṣiṇātyeṣu granth amāte vyavasthitaḥ II. 488

1. Takakusu p. 178.
2. Op. cit; cf. II. 485
3. Goldstucker; *Pāṇini* (1861) p. 228 ff. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* 5, 147 ff; Peterson J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 16, 1883—85 pp. 181 ff; R. G. Bhandarkar, J. B. B. R. A. S. ibid, pp. 199 ff; Liebich, *Pāṇini*, 511 f; Buhler, '*Indische Inschriften*' p. 72; N. Bhāsyācārya—'*The age of Patañjali*', Adyar, Madras 1889; Haraprasād Sāstri, J. A. S. B. 6, 1910 p. 261; Winternitz, '*Geschichte der indischen litteratur*' pp. 389 ff and Ref; Louis de la Vallee—Poussin—*L 'inde aux temp des Mauryas;* D. C. Sircar, I. H. Q. Vol. XV. 1939 p. 39 and 633 ff; **Belvalkar**, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* p. 32 ff.

the *Mahābhāṣya* ranges in its upper limit from the 10th century B. C. to its lower limit, in the fourth century A. D. These theories may be examined afresh, in the hope that the internal evidence itself would prove decisive. As most of the advocates of these theories died without giving up their view points, we might evaluate their contentions in the light of the available evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself.

The earliest date, fixed by N. Bhāṣyācārya[1] in the 10th century B. C. needs no comment. Patañjali's reference to the Yavanas, Candragupta and Puṣyamitra precludes the possibility of an earlier date for the Bhāṣyakāra. His aspersions against western scholarship are uncalled for, and his judgement is puerile.

The lowest limit, fixed by Peterson[2] in the fourth century A. D., is based on Patañjali's reference to Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra who has been identified by him with the Puṣpamitras, conquered by Skandagupta, and mentioned in the Bhitārī Pillar inscription. He also noticed I-tsing's reference to a commentary on it (the *Vṛtti Sūtra* i.e. the *Kāśikāvṛtti*) entitled *Cūrṇi* containing 24,000 ślokas. Peterson's identification is unacceptable, as the inscription refers to a tribe known by that name and not the king. The actual wording of the inscription is *Puṣyamitrāṁś ca jitvā*[3] and not *Puṣyamitram*, as suggested by him. R. G. Bhandarkar controverted[4] Peterson's theory

1. Op. cit. *The Adyar Library Series Madras,* No. 1 p. 15.
2. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 189.
3. C. I. I. Vol. III. 52 ff. L. 11.
4. Op. cit. pp. 191 ff.

The Purāṇas mention a people called Puṣyamitras whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasty of the Vindhyakas. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* as quoted by Wilson, Puṣpamitras and Paṭumitras, and others, to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekalā (Vol. IV. pp. 212-3). The late Boden Professor pointed out that it seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya Princes from these Bāhlikas and then from the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekalā, a country on the Narmadā. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* groups the two with the rulers of Mekalā.

Puṣyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa
Mekalāyām nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyantīha saptatim (Pargiter, p. 51)

and pointed out the improbability of his views and the supposed identification in the light of the passage referring to the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the sense in which they have to be understood. This identification also belies Kalhaṇa's statement[1] about Abhimanyu patronising the *Mahābhāṣya*. The theory advanced by Peterson, fixing such a late period for Patañjali and speaking of the *Mahābhāṣya*, as a commentary on the *Kāśikā*, is incredible.

Weber discussed the data from the *Mahābhāṣya* at great length in his paper, which can still be studied with care to ascertain some cultural and geographical information from this work. His articles in the 'Indian Antiquary',[2] referring to Patañjali's time, however, need careful scrutiny. According to the late Professor, 'when we adduce and criticize the testimonies of the *Vākyapadīya* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*' as quoted by Goldstücker, 'the final conclusion, at which we arrive, is that Patañjali lived about 25 after Christ'. He has put in between the years 5-45 A. D., according to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's accession to the throne, the following events namely, the besieging of Sāketa, the oppressing of the Mādhyamikās by the same or another Yavana, the composition of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and lastly, between the years 45-65, Abhimanyu's care for this work. He also suggested that Kaniṣka, the Indo-Scythian Yavana, besieged Sāketa and was ill-disposed towards the Mādhyamikās in the interest of Hīnayānas. As regards the Puṣpamitra reference, he suggested that Patañjali did not live at that

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1. *Candrācāryādibhir labdhvā deśam tasmīt tadāgamam pravartitam Mahābhāṣyam svam ca vyākaraṇam kṛtam* I. 176

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, this king Abhimanyu is immediately mentioned after Huṣka and Kaṇiṣka, and, if such was the case, the composition of the *Mahābhāṣya* must have taken place much earlier, and Peterson's theory fails. Keith doubted the date of Abhimanyu, but accepted Bhartṛhari's reference testifying to the long study of the text before his time (c. 650 A.D) (Keith-*History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 428.)

2. Vol. II. pp. 57 ff.; 210 ff., cf. also Weber "on *the Date of Patañjali*" (Trans. from *Indis. Stud.*) pp. 61 ff.

time, but the memory of the King was still cherished by the Brāhmaṇas.

Weber, it appears, twisted the passage referring to the besieging of Saketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavanas, to suit his arguments. He correctly identified Sāketa, but the association of the other word, for namesake, with the school of Buddhism to which Nāgārjuna belonged, is incorrect. His inability to link any anti-Buddhist Yavana ruler with the Sāketa compaign, and, further, his attempt to foist this enterprise on Kaniṣka[1] create a difficult situation. The theory suggested by him, particularly in trying to harmonise many facts at a particular time, is very confusing, and is unacceptable at its face value.

The other dates, suggested by scholars are:—Böhtlingk[2]—200 B. C.; MaxMüller[3]--200 B. C.; Goldstücker[4], R. G. Bhandarkar[5]—144-142 B. C., and Keith[6]—150 B. C. As they based their arguments on

1. I. H. Q. Vol. XV. p. 633 ff; D. C. Sircar suggested that the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the Kuṣāṇa Period, basing his arguments on the reference to quotations from the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, the flourishing state of Kāvya literature, use of metres which are supposed to be of later times and the reference to the Vyūhas of Kṛṣṇa, and the śakas. At the close of his arguments he suggests that Patañjali was himself a contemporary of Pusyamitra śuṅga, but his work, the original *Mahābhāṣya*, was revised and enlarged by early grammarians of his own school. One may agree with him for his ingenuity, but there is hardly any evidence of the original *Mahābhāṣya* having undergone any change. He is not very sure of his contentions. (Cf. p. 638).

2. Pāṇini's Grammatik, p. X.

3. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 244. The late Professor MaxMüller was not very certain about the probable date of its composition. He suggested that we cannot be very far from wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana on the threshold of the third century B. C. At what time the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed, it is difficult to say. Further, he pointed out, that "as an experiment we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B. C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of the Sūtras."

4. *Pāṇini*, p. 239. He proposed that Patañjali must have written his commentary on the Vārttika to Pāṇini III.2.111, between 140 and 120 B. C., and this is the only date in the ancient literature of India, which, "in my belief, rests on more than mere hypothesis."

5. I. A. Vol. I. pp. 299 ff; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 199 ff.

6. *History of Sanskrit literature* p. 5. In his '*Sanskrit Drama*' he suggests 140 B. C. as the date of Patañjali with reasonable assurance.

the evidence, afforded by the *Mahābhāṣya* itself, those passages may be examined afresh. It is rightly presumed that Patañjali in his comments refers to important contemporary events and personalities. One such event is the besieging of Sāketa by the Yavanas (*arunad yavanaḥ Sāketam*), and of Madhyamikā (*arunad yavano Madhamikām*)[1]. These illustrations are given by Patañjali, in his comment on the rule, 'that the past imperfect should be used to signify an action, not witnessed by the speaker; but capable of being noticed by him, and known to people in general.' Therefore the siege of Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Madhyamikā (near Chittor), and not the school of the Mādhyamikās, as presumed by Weber, were witnessed by the speaker to whom Patañjali is referring in his comment. Now the question, necessarily, arises—who were the Yavanas, and when did they besiege Sāketa ?

Reference to the Yavanas, advancing as far as the land of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, is also made by Kālidāsa, and in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*. The former, in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*[2], refers to the attack by the Yavanas while the Śuṅga forces under the command of his grandson Vasumitra were following the horse let loose in connection with the Aśvamedha sacrifice of the Śuṅga monarch. The Yavanas were defeated, and Puṣyamitra invited his son and daughters-in-law to join the celebrations. The latter source[3] mentions the advance of the Yavanas as far as Kusumadhvaja (Pātaliputra) and their subsequent retreat owing to trouble at home.

1. III. 2. 111 p. 119, L. 5.

2. Act. V.—*yo 'sau rājasūyayajñadīkṣitena mayā rājaputraśataparivṛtam Vasumitram goptāram ādiśya samvatsaropāvartanīyo nirgalas turago visṛṣṭaḥ sa sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi carann āśvānīkena Yavanānām prārthitaḥ.*

3. *tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañcālā Mathurā(s) tathā Yavanāś ca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumdhvajam* LL. 94-95.
Cf. D. R. Mankad's Paper on *'A critically edited text of the Yuga Purāṇa'*—Journal. U. P. Historical Society Vol. XX 1947. Parts 1-2 pp. 32 ff, and References.

This Yavana invader mentioned by Patañjali is identified with Demetrius.[1] The probable date of this event may be postponed for consideration till we have weighed other pieces of evidence suggesting the probable date and time of Patañjali.

The Bhāṣyakara has also referred to the sacrifice, performed by Puṣyamitra, in which he had, probably, some hand. Commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, and suggesting the use of the present tense (*laṭ*) to denote an action or under-taking which has begun but not finished, he cites as an instance: Here we dwel , here we perform, (as priests), the sacrifice instituted by Puṣyamitra (*iha vasāmaḥ-iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*).[2] This, again, corroborates the testimony of the first reference pointing to the contemporaneity of the Bhāṣyakāra with the Śuṅga monarch—Puṣyamitra.

In this connection there is another reference under Rule I. 1.68 (7)—*jitaparyāyavacanasyaiva rājādy artham*—indicating that "a *tatpuruṣa samāsa* ending with the word *sabhā*—court, is neuter, provided it is preceded by the word *rānjan*, or by a word denoting a non-human being; but not when it is compounded with the name of a particular king". Here Patañjali cites as an illustration—

1. K. P. Jayaswal tried to prove that the Greek king of Patañjali and Khāravela's time, was Demetrius and not Menander; and he quoted the following passage from the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Samhitā*:—

Dharmmamīta tamāvṛddhā janam bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ Yavanājñāpayiṣyanti (*naśyeran*) *ca pārthivaḥ* (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV. pp. 127 ff). Dharmmamita is correctiy identified with Demetrius; but, according to Keith, this Yavana king was probably Menander (c. 156-153 B. C.)—Cf. *'History of Sanskrit literature'* p. 428. Sten Konow agreed with Jayaswal's views (A. O. Vol. I. p. 27). Dr. Tarn has suggested that, at the time of the invasion, Menander was only Demetrius' general, a fact, it would seem, better understood by Indian writers of the period than by modern scholars ('Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 141). At another page he suggests that Menander was governor or viceroy for Demetrius for all the conquests south-eastward of the Jhelum (ibid p. 167). Cf. also C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 544.

2. III. 2. 123 p. 123, LL. 3-4.

Puṣpamitrasabhā[1]—the assembly of King Puṣyamitra. The name of this ruler is quoted again by the Bhāṣyakāra in his comment on the Sūtra *hetumati ca,*[2] which explains that 'the affix *ṇic* is employed after a root, when the causative is be expressed,. Here Patañjali cites Puṣyamitra sacrifices (*yajate*), and the sacrificial priests cause him to sacrific (i. e. to be the sacrificer for performing the ceremonies for him). According to Pāṇini's rule, the order ought to be Puṣyamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice and the priests sacrifice. Puṣyamitra sacrifices (*yajati*) and the priests (*yājaka*) cause him to perform it (*yājayanti*).

Whatever be the grammatical aspects in all the four instances, quoted above, it is certain that Patañjali drew his illustrations from important contemporary events to make a deeper impression on the minds of his readers. The references to Puṣyamitra—his assembly or *yajñas*—sacrifices, a number of times, show that he may have been his contemporary. The Mauryan passage, cited by scholars[3] on this point, is hardly helpful in fixing his time, though it, no doubt, delimits the period beyond which we must not think of this last *muni*. Commenting on the Sūtra *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye* (V. 3.99) "in the case of a life sustenance, serving an object which is an image *(pratikṛti)*, the affix *ka* is not used except when the object is saleable", Patañjali cites as examples the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, where the rule of affixing *ka* does not apply. The gold coveting Mauryas had caused images of the gods to be prepared, but the rule applies only in such cases where these images provide living for the person who exhibits them to the householders. Weber was of opinion that "Pāṇini in referring to images *(pratikṛti)*, that were saleable—that is by their afforded sustenance of life *(jīvikārtha)*, had in his eye such as these that had come down from the Mauryas." This he cites as the opinion of Patañjali.

1. I. 1.68 p. 177, L. 10.

2. III. 1.26 p. 34, LL. 1, 2, 6-7.

3. This passage from the *Mahābhāṣya* (v. 3. 99 p. 429) has been interpreted by Goldstucker, Weber and R. G. Bhandarkar (Op. Cit.)

The internal evidence, afforded by the *Mahābhāṣya*, suggests that Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. As regards the composition of the work, particularly that portion which refers to the invasion of the Yavanas, and the performance of horse sacrifice, there is a difference of opinion in view of the reference to the defeat of the *(Rājā Muriya)* at the hands of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, and the retreat of the Yavanarāja Dimita abandoning Mathurā[1]. It is also suggested[2] that Puṣyamitra performed another sacrifice to vindicate his position after his humiliation at the hands of King Khāravela; and this portion of the *Mahāṣbhāya* was written late in the lifetime of the Śuṅga monarch who, according to the Purāṇas[3] ruled for a period of 36 years from B. C. 185-149. As this point is to be discussed in detail, in the Chapter on "Political History" we may skip through it here, and consider the external evidence on the date of Patañjali, if any.

The external evidence is furnished by Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadīya*, who is said to have written a running commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, which fact is also mentioned by I-tsing. The date of Bharthṛhari is fixed about 600 A. D.[4] The *Vākyapadīya* contains data relating to the history of *Mahābhāṣya* and its decay at the hands of logicians named Baiji, Saubhava, and Hāryakṣa, who minimised the importance of grammar with a view to extoling logical principles. Though it was studied in the Deccan as an

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1. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. pp. 444 f; Vol. IV. pp. 384 f.

2. idid. Vol. X. p. 205. Jayaswal suggested that Puṣyamitra was defeated by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, evidently after his first sacrifice. He re-established his Imperial position a second time. He further suggested that Kālidāsa was referring to the second sacrifice when Puṣyamitra had a grandson, young enough to lead the forces.

3. *Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam ṣaṭ-trimśati samānṛpaḥ* (Pargiter-*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31)

4. Keith has placed Bhartṛhari's death in C. 651 A.D. The composition of his *Vākyapadīya* and the running commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is "all but lost", may safely be placed in the sixth century A.D.

ordinary text, the neglect did not continue for long, and attempts were made by Candrācārya, Vasurāta and others to restore its true status. This fact is also noticed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which refers to the grammarians Candrācārya and others popularising the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* in the reign of Abhimanyu. This story has little significance, except that it throws light on the sacred character of the work and its author, Patañjali who commanded respect for his learning. Though these facts do not settle the exact time of the Bhāṣyakāra, they certainly suggest the established position of this work and its writer.

Identity of two or more Patañjalis :

The identity of two or more Patañjalis engaged the attention of some scholars, who expressed divergent views. The supporters of the identity theory include Liebich[1] and Chakravartty[2], while those opposed to the identification of the Bhāṣyakāra with the Yoga-Sūtrakāra are Professor Renou[3], Y. H. Woods[4] and Jacobi[5]. The advocates of the identification theory base their arguments on a number of points—the opening of the two works with similar aphorisms (cf. *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and *atha yogānuśāsanam*), absence of criticism on the doctrine of *sphoṭa* in the *Yoga-sūtra*, despite its repeated notice by all schools of philosophy, and the reference to Yoga in the *Mahābhāṣya*. They also referred to Bhartṛhari's allusion[6] to the effect that the *Yoga-śāstra* seemed to purge the mind of all foul elements, while eulogising the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. By way of negative arguments, it is suggested by the advocates of the identification theory that, as the two works deal with altogether different topics, and having practically nothing in common, it is difficult to trace parallelism so far as the texts are concerned.

1. S.B. Heid, 1919, 4. p. 7 f; 1921, 7. p. 57 f.
2. I.H.Q. Vol. II. p. 265 f.
3. ibid., Vol. XVI. p. 586 f.
4. *Yoga system (Translation)*, H.O.S. Vol. XVII. p. xv.
5. J.A.O.S. Vol. XXXI p. 25. f.
6. I. 148. *Yujyate Yogam Brahmacārī.*

As against these arguments, Professor Renou and others have adduced views from the grammatical and philosophical standpoints. Professor Renou's arguments centre round grammatical terminology like *pratyāhara, upasarga, pratyaya* and *vikarṇa* etc. which appear in the *Yoga sūtra* with different values. Further, he also expressed surprise at the non-utilization of the value of *ca, va, iti* etc. in the *Yoga-sūtra*, and the language of the latter work points to a development in the sense of analysis. The style and combination, are also taken into consideration. Jacobi discussed at great length the difference in the philosophical ideas of the two works, which definitely suggest the posterior character of the latter one. The adoption of the original heterodox doctrines unmistakably point to a relatively modern time. This confirms the result, arrived at by examining the allusions to Buddhist doctrines, contained in the *Yoga-sūtra* which must be later than the fith century A.D. Wood translating the *Yoga-bhāṣya* (c. 650-850 A.D.) suggests that this work does not contain an allusion, more or less direct, to the theory of the unity of the parts of concrete substances, as set forth in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The divergent conceptions of the two works, at least, in regard to the question of 'substance' *(dravya)* and quality *(guṇa)*, nullifies the identification theory. Jacobi rightly summed up that, since the author of the *Yoga-sūtra* does not conform to the grammatical rules taught by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and because the latter is ignorant of the philosophical views of the former, they cannot be identical, but must be two different persons. Dr. Barnett also referred to the weakness of the tradition attributing the *Sūtra* (*Yoga*) to Patañjali (Bhāṣyakāra). This is admitted by S. N. Das Gupta, but he is not prepared to accept the posterity of the *yoga-sūtra* to the *Mahābhāṣya*[1] on the basis of internal evidence, if any.

It should, however, be made clear that two persons cannot be identified for name sake. This would further complicate the issue as there is another Patañjali, the author of the *Nidāna-sūtra*. K. C. Bhatnagar editing the *Nidana-sūtra*[2] has quoted the Berlin Catalogue

1. J. R. A, S. 1932, p. 417.
2. *Punjab Sanskrit Series*, p. 27.

and Max-Muller's *Ṣaḍaguruśiṣya* (1187 A.D. ?) in his comment on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*, with a view to showing that the Bhāṣyakāra, the Yoga-sūtrakāra and the author of the *Nidāna-sūtra* are really one person *(yogā-cāryaḥ svayam kartā yoga-śāstra nidānayoḥ)*. There are traditional accounts, based on Śivarāma's comment[1] on the *Vāsavadatta*, as well as on *Patañjalicarita*[2] of Rāmabhadra, which suggest that Patañjali wrote three works—one on yoga, the second on grammar and the third on medicine. The last one is also referred to by Cakrapāṇi[3] in his commentary on Caraka. But the question is : Are we to rely on these traditions, based on works written over a thousand years later, when Patañjali was accorded a divine status. In fact the *Yuktidīpika*[4] refers to another Patañjali.

It would not be surprising to find that, as the gotras came to be associated with Vedic ṛṣis, certain families were linked with the name of Patañjali. An inscription[5] from Narendra of the time

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1. *Yogena cittasya padena vācām malam śarīrasya tu vaidyakena yo 'pākarot tam pravaram munīnām Patañjalim prāñjalir ānato 'smi* (Bibl. Ind. ed. p. 239).
2. *sūtrāṇi yogaśāstre vaidyakaśāstre ca vārttikāni tataḥ kṛtvā Patañjalimuniḥ pracārayāmāsa jagad idam trātum* V. 25
3 *Patañjala-Mahābhāṣya-Carakapratisamskṛtaiḥ mano-vāk kāyadoṣāṇām hantre 'hipataye namaḥ*
Patañjali's medical work, thus, consisted in a revision *(pratisaṁskṛta)* of the great compendium of Caraka (Ref. Jolly's book on Medicine in Buhler's Grundriss series p. 25).
4. *Cal. Sans Series* ed. P. C. Chakravartty, p. 32. According to this work, this Patañjali did not belive in the existence of *ahaṁkāra* as a separate category.

ucyate :—*ahaṁkāra parigrahārtham evam tarhi naivāhaṁkāro vidyata iti Patañjaliḥ mahato 'smi pratyayarūpatvābhūpāgamāt*

This is quoted in relation to the views of the author of the *Yuktidīpikā* that an ancient master of Sāṅkhya, called Paurika held that *Prakṛti* is not one, but there is an infinite plurality of *prakṛtis*, each being attached to a different *Puruṣa*.

5. E. I. Vol. XII. p. 298 f. at p. 306.

of Vikramāditya, and the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II dated A. D. 1125, refers• to Patañjali, the grammarian (*Śabda-Vidyā Patañjali saḥ*) by way of comparing and eulogising the qualities of the ruler. This record seems important for two reasons: Firstly, it refers to Patañjali as a grammarian alone, and secondly, his eminence and attainments in the sphere of grammar were unquestionable, and even worth emulating. Thus, it would be improper to assume the identity of two or three Patañjalis who distinguished themselves in different spheres. The internal evidence, furnished by these works, in relation to style, subject matter, and the disparity in language involving grammatical omissions, necessarily suggest that there were two or more Patañjalis. The inscription from Narendra is positive in referring to Patañjali as a grammarian alone and, despite its late character, its evidentiary value is no less in comparison to traditional accounts.

Patañjali's Parentage and his native place:

As regards Patañjali's parentage and his birthplace, though traditional accounts suggest that he was an incarnation of Śeṣa, born in mysterious circumstances, but the best thing would be to look for his personal account in the *Mahābhaṣya* itself. *Goṇikāputra,*[1] and *Gonardīya*[2] are the two expressions traced in the *Mahābhāṣya.* Goṇikā might have been his mother, as we find in the *Patañjalicarita,*[3] and this expression stands in analogy to *Dākṣīputra*[4] with reference to Pāṇini, who is also called *Śālatūrīya*[5] by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.* It is not unusual for persons being named after their mothers, as for example, Aśvaghoṣa also styles himself

1. I. 4.51, p. 336 L. 16.

2. I. 1.21 p. 78, L. 2; I. 1.29 p. 91, L. 28; III. 1.92 p. 76, L. 14; VII. 2.101 p. 309, L. 11.

3. *Tatra kā-api dadṛśe munikanyā Goṇikā iti guṇasindhur anena* II. 7.

4. I. 1.20 p. 75, L. 13.—*sarve sarvapadādeśa Dākṣiputrasya Pāṇini.*

5. *śālaturīyodākṣeyo Gonardīyaḥ Patañjaliḥ* (Bohtlingk und. Rieueu. p. 157, L. 89.

Suvarṇākṣīputra,[1] after the name of his mother. Vātsyāyana has mentioned[2] both Gonardīya and Goṇikāputra, as authors on dramaturgy, but there is no reason for identifying them with the author of the *Mahabhaṣya.* Moreover Nāgojibhaṭṭa has identified Goṇikaputra with the Bhāṣyakāra himself.[3]

As regards Gonardīya, the late R. G. Bhandarkar[4] identified this place with Gondā in Avadha. He tried to prove that, according to the usual rules of corruption, Sanskrit rda (र्द) is in the Prākṛts corrupted to dda (द्द) but sometimes it is also changed to ḍḍa (ड्ड), and, as hasty pronunciation sometimes elides the *a* and in the latter stages of the development of Prakṛts one of the two similar consonants is rejected, so Gonarda becomes Goṇḍā. He also cited two passages

1. *Saundarnanda 'Colophon'.*

2. Vātsyāyana has referred to the two writers—Goṇikāputra (*Kāma-sūtra* I. 5; V. 1; VI. 48 etc.) and Gonardīya (ibid I. 4), who wrote on the subject of treatment of a wife. It can hardly be conjectured that he was referring to Patañjali. According to Kielhorn, Goṇikāputra and Gonardīya were not names of Patañjali. He cited a manuscript written in 1695, in which there is the gloss—"*Goṇikāputrabhāryamate ubhayathā bhavati, ṣaṣṭī bhavati dvitīyāpi bhavati* viz. in the opinion of the Ācarya Goṇikāputra, a phrase which can hardly be said to refer to the Bhāṣyakāra. As regards Gonardīya, he must be a grammarian, quoted by him, and such, he believed, was the opinion of Vāmana, the author of a portion of the *Kāśikavṛtti* and of *Bhartṛhari.*" (I. A. Vol. XV. p. 80 f.).

R. L. Mitra also doubted the identification of Goṇikāputra and Gonardīya in the *Mahābhaṣyā.* He suggested that there was a solitary instance of the use of this honorific Goṇikāputra, as he always prefers the derivatives by the use of such participles as *jñeyam*—'it should be known'; or *kartavyam*—'it should be done', and not by naming himself in the third person. He pointed out that there may have been a Gonardīya and a Goṇikāputra before the time of Vātsyāyana and necessarily long before that of Patañjali, and yet there was nothing to prevent him bearing these *aliases.* The manner, however, in which these names have been cited leaves no room for the entertainment of such an opinion. (J. A. S. B. Vol. LII 1883, p. 330 f.).

3. *Goṇikāputro bhāṣyakāra ity āhuḥ*— op. cit.

4. I. A. Vol. II. 1873, p. 70.

from the *Mahābhāṣya* testifying to the composition of this work at a place in between Mathurā and Pātaliputra.[1]

Weber presumed the ingenuity of the conclusion, no doubt, surrounded by very grave difficulties particularly, the correct translation of the word *pūrvam* in the passage *Māthurayāḥ Pātaliputram pūrvam*. It gives just the opposite direction implying that Pātaliputra was situated between the speaker and Mathurā, and the speaker, therefore, must have lived to the east of the former. He, however, suggested that Patañjali had visited different parts of India, as he was writing the *Mahābhāṣya*. The dwelling place of the Bhāṣyakāra could hardly be ascertained from these passages, and he suggested[2] waiving the matter altogether.

According to P. C. Chakravartty,[3] Gonarda must be a place somewhere in the Deccan. He contended that Patañjali belonged to Southern India, and had intimate knowledge of that part, as could be inferred from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. He certainly speaks of a peculiar linguistic characteristic of the Deccan, that is, of using words in *taddhita* suffixis, as for example, *laukike* and *vaidike* instead of '*loke*' and '*vede*'. The references to big lakes and ponds, popularly called *sarasī*, in the Deccan is also construed as an evidence pointing in that direction.

It seems that Mr. Chakravartty lost sight of the fact that, while Patañjali speaks of directions in which the cities of Madhyadeśa

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1. III. 3.136, p. 162, L. 6.

yo 'yam adhvā gata ā-pātaliputrāt tasya yad avaram sāketad iti—"of the distance or path from Pātaliputra which has been traversed (such a thing was done in) that part of it which is on this side of Sāketa;"

yo 'yam adhvā pātaliputrād gantavyas tasya yatparam sāketād iti (ibid. L. 11.)

"Of the distance or path up to Pātaliputra which is to be traversed (something will be done in) that portion which lies on that side of Sāketa."

2. *Inds. Stud.* Vol. XIII. p. 314; I. A. Vol. II. 1873, p. 57 f.

3. I. H. Q. Vol. II. p. 268.

were separated from one another, and occasionally distances as well, he does not care to locate the position of Coḍa, Kerala, Kaḍera and Pāṇḍya. It is difficult to fix his place of birth on the basis of the rich geographical data, which no doubt eliminate the claim of Southern India, but do not, at the same time, make any positive assertion. It would, therefore, be better to leave over this matter, for want of any definite evidence.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL HISTORY

The historical value of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* consists in its reference to the Yavana invasion, and the performance of the sacrifice by Puṣymitra to whom we find repeated references. These citations convey the impression that the Bhāṣyakāra was aware of the political vicissitudes, and he had a hand in the sacrifice performed by the Śuṅga monarch. The history of this period is a record of struggles for supremacy between the Śuṅga and the Yavana monarchs; but the result was indecisive. In the East the Śuṅgas paved the way to the Kāṇvas, while the Śakas ushered in as intruders in the North-West replacing the Indo-Greek rulers. Some Provincial States, probably owing temporary allegiance to the Śuṅgas, also existed in that period. The Āndhras, well-established in the South-East, were preparing to gain ascendancy in the North. The eastern part of India was for sometime under the suzerainty of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. Thus, it would be interesting to study in detail the history of Northern India from the Śuṅga period up to the beginning of the Christian era.

Ancestry of the Śuṅgas :

The foremost question concerning the Śuṅgas is about their ancestry, and the relation of the first Śuṅga monach Puṣyamitra with the last Mauryan Emperor Bṛhadratha. The Brāhmaṇa origin of the Mauryan General, who, according to the Purāṇas[1] and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[2], assassinated the last Mauryan ruler, while he was reviewing

1. *Puṣyamitras tu senānīr uddhṛtya sa Bṛhadratham.* (cf. *Mat.* 272·27. 5; *Vāyu* 99.337; *Brah.* iii. 74).

2. *Senānīr anāryo Mauryam Bṛhadratham pipeṣa Puṣpamitraḥ svāminam* . p. 199 L. 1. (Parab's edition).

his forces, is referred to in many works. According to Pāṇini,[1] an affix *aṇ* comes after the Śuṅgas only when the sense is a descendant of the family of Bhāradvāja. He also mentions the other form *Śaungi*. Incidentally the *Pravaradarpana* mentions *Śaunki*, probably a misreading for *Śauṅgi*—as a division of the Parāśaras belonging to Vassitha gotra. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] mentions a teacher named Śauṅgi-putra, while the *Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*[3] refers to another form *Saungāyani*. In the *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta Sūtra*[4] the Śuṅgas are mentioned as teachers. In the *Harivaṁśa*,[5] the Brāhmaṇa Senānī restoring the Aśvamedha sacrifice, is mentioned as a Kāśyapa. The *Mālavikāgnimitra*[6] speaks of Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra descending from Bimbaka, who, according to H. A. Shah,[7] should be connected with the family of Bindusāra. Patañjali[8] also refers to Baimbakiḥ but that is not associated with the Śuṅga King. According to the *Divyāvadāna*,[9] Puṣyamitra was the son of Vṛṣasena, grandson of Bṛhaspati, and great grandson of Sampadi, son of Kuṇāla. This tradition, therefore, aligns the Śuṅgas with the Mauryas; and, if it were to be believed, the difference between this monarch and Emperor Aśoka would be five generations—a period of about 100 years which seems much. Bāṇa calls him a base born general (*Senānīr anāryaḥ*). Dr. Ray Chaudhuri,[10] citing the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, -has suggested that, as the Baimbakayaṣ are distinctly included in the Pravaras and gotras of the list, he was, therefore, a Kāśpaya and not a Bhāradvaja Śuṅga. M. Hara Prasād Śāstrī[11] adopted a different view by associating Puṣyamitra

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1. *Vikarṇa Śuṅgacchagalād vatsabhāradvājatriṣu.*—IV. 1. 117.
2. VI. 4.31.
3. *Madragāraḥ Śauṅgāyaniḥ. Indis. Stud.* IV. p. 383.
4. XII. 13.5; cf also. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. IV. p. 257 f.
5. II. 40.
6. Tawney—*Trans.* p. 69.
7. *Proc. Indi. Orient Conf. Madras* p. 379.
8. IV. 1·97. p. 253. L. 5.
9. P. 434.
10. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* (IIIrd. ed.) p. 252 f.
11. 1. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 739.

with those turbulent military spirits who had been driven away from Persia by the Greek conquest of that country. The second half of the name—*mitra*, and that of all the members of his family according to him, suggest his Persian origin.

Perusing the opinions of different scholars, and the data furnished by indigenous sources, one arrives at the conclusion that Puṣyamitra was an Indian. The word Śuṅga is noticed in early Sanskrit literature, and the second half of the name *mitra* does not hint at the foreign origin of this Śuṅga monarch. There is a general agreement regarding his Brahmanical ancestry, despite the doubt created by later traditions. As regards his gotra, opinions are sharply divided.

Dynastic History :

Evidence from the Purāṇas, relating to the genealogy of the Śuṅgas, does furnish a uniform table, though there are slight variations in the length of reign and, occasionally, in names as well. Pargiter considered the readings in the various Purāṇas, and the following table may be presented with variant readings in names and length of reign, wherever possible.

1.	Puṣyamitra[1]—the commander-in-chief and the uprooter of Bṛhadratha		36 years.
2.	Agnimitra[2]	...	8 years.
3.	Vasujyeṣṭha[3]	...	7 years.

1. *Puṣyamitras tu Senānīr uddhṛtya vai Bṛhadratham Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam samāḥ ṣaṣṭim sad-aiva tu* (*Vāyu*) 9.9337 (*Anandāśrama ed*)

The reading of the *Matsya Purāṇa* varies as regards the length of his reign (*Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam ṣaṭ-triṁśati samā nṛpāḥ*) and not sixty years as in the *Vāyu Purāṇa.*

2. *Agnimitraḥ sutas c=āṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samānṛpaḥ.*

(This line is noticed only in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa.* The former has Puṣpamitra instead of Agnimitra.

3. *Bhavita=āpi Vasujyeṣṭhaḥ sapta varṣāṇi vai nṛpaḥ* (*Mat*).

The *Vāyu* has *tajjyeṣṭha* (cf. *Bhāgavata*), but it is Sujyeṣṭha in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas.*

4.	Vasumitra[1]——the Commander of the forces defeating the Yavanas		10 years.
5.	Andhraka[2]	...	2 years.
6.	Pulinda[3]	...	3 years.
7.	Ghoṣa[4]	...	3 years.
8.	Vajramitra[5]	...	9 years.
9.	Bhāgavata[6]	...	32 years.
10.	Devabhūmi[7]	...	10 years.
		... Total ...	120 years.

1. *Vasumitraḥ suto bhāvyo daśa varṣāṇi pārthivaḥ.*

There is no differenee in the name or in the length of years. The *Matsya* has *Vai tataḥ* instead of *Pārthivaḥ.*

2. *tato 'ndhrakaḥ samādve tu bhaviṣyati sutas ca vai* (*Vāyu*).

The name of this ruler varies according to different *Purāṇas.* According to the *Matsya,* he is Antaka (L. 29), while in the *Bhāgavata* the name is Bhadraka (Chap. I. L. 17).

(a) The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions the name Ardraka (IV. 24). The correct name seems to be Andhraka of the *Vāyu Purāṇa.* The period of his reign was only two years, according to all the *Purāṇas.*

3. *Bhaviṣyanti—samās tasmāt tisra eva Pulindakāḥ* (*Vāyu*).

The reading of the *Matsya* is correct. It mentions the name of this ruler Pulindaka, reigning for three years (triṇi). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* calls him only Pulinda and elides the last *ka.* The real name is Pulindaka, also mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*

4. Rājā *Ghoṣa sutas c=āpi varṣāṇi bhavitā trayaḥ* (*Vāyu*).

Certain manuscripts, quoted by Pargiter, mention his name differently; Yomejha, Yomekha or Momegha which may be a misreading for Ghoṣa quoted in the *Bhāgavata* and in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* (Ghoṣavasu).

5. *Bhavitā vajramitras tu samā rājā punarbhavaḥ* (*Matsya*).

According to the *Vāyu,* the name is Vikramitra. Vajramitra is referred to, both in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇas.* The length of his reign is 9 years (*navaḥ*), though the word mentioned is *bhavaḥ* (Matsya) or *punaḥ,* according to *Vāyu.*

6. *Dva-triṁśat tu samābhāgaḥ samābhāgāt tato nṛpaḥ* (*Matsya*).

The *Vāyu Purāāa* calls the ninth Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata (L. 341) which fact is supported by the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇas.*

7. *bhaviṣyati sutas tasya Devabhūmiḥ samā daśa* (*Matsya*).

According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* the name of the last Śuṅga ruler is Kṣemabhūmi. The *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas,* however, name him Devabhūti.

These 10 kings will enjoy this earth for full 112 years. The variant readings of the different Purāṇas pertaining to the subject furnish some interesting details; the most important is the absence of Puṣyamitra's name in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and that of Agnimitra in the *Matsya* ; Sujyeṣṭha in place of Vasujyeṣṭha in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* Andhraka, spelt as Antaka, in the *Matsya* ; and Bhadraka and Ardraka in the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* respectively. The seventh ruler is also called by different names: Yomegha, Yomekha or Momekha, but his name is missing in the *Matsya Purāṇā*. The last Śuṅga rulers, Vajramitra (Vikramāmitra, according to the *Bhāgavata*), Bhāgavata and Devabhūmi (Kṣemabhūmi, according to the *Vāyu*) do not present much difficulty. The identification of some of the later Śuṅga rulers with those of the Pabhosā records, or the Mitra kings of the Pañcāla, group as suggested by some scholars, is postponed for consideration later on.

The duration of this dynastic rule varies, though slightly, according to the different Purāṇas.[1] The total length of years, counting the individual figures comes to 120 years, but, according to the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Puraṇas*, the total reign is 112 years. (*Satam pūrṇam daśa dve ca*), though some manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one of *Viṣṇu* mention the duration as only 110 years. The difference of eight years, as we notice, may be partly due to counting the fractional as one complete year with the result that, when counted according to individual reigns, the period is longer than the actual one. The Pauranic evidence may, therefore, be accepted at its face value, and a period of 112 years be assigned to this dynasty.

Puṣyamitra—The accession of Puṣyamitra Senānī to power at the expense of his Mauryan master, whom he had murdered, seems to have taken place in about 185 B. C. If the Pauranic evidence is to be believed, the Mauryan dynasty ruled for a period of 137 years (*Sapta-trimśac-chatam pūrṇam*) ; and placing Candragupta Maurya's

1. Pargiter—*Dyn. Kali. Age.* p. 30 f.

accession in about 322 B. C., we naturally arrive at this date for Puṣyamitra's accession.[1] According to P. C. Bagci,[2] Puṣyamitra's reign must have started earlier than what is believed, and ended shortly before 175 B. C. though he does not suggest any particular date of his accession. Under the circumstances, we find no ground for questioning the date given to Puṣyamitra according to the Purāṇas.

The Brāhmaṇa general, who brought about the *coup d'etat* could not find the situation rather easy. In fact, the last years of the Mauryan rulers, who were very weak, witnessed the collapse of the vast Aśokan empire in different directions. The advent of the Greeks, particularly Euthydemus and his successor Demetrius in the Punjab, had brought the Indian king in proximity with the Yavana monarch, and a tie for supremacy was inevitable. The South-West, which, at one time, formed an important seat of the Mauryan empire at Vidiśā, was unwilling to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Śuṅga monarch. The first task before the new ruler was to integrate the loose fabrices, and reclaim the lost portion of the Mauryan empire to

1. Sten Konow quoted Jacobi, as pointing out that the stanza places the accession of Candragupta in B. C. 312, and that of Puṣyamitra in B. C. 204 while the latter king's rule is stated to have come to an end in B. C. 174. (A. O. Vol. I. P. 34).

2. I. H. Q. Vol. XXII p. 81 f. In his paper on '*Kṛmiśa and Demetrius*', Professor Bagci suggested that Demetrius, Identifid with Kṛmiśa, was invited by King Damṣṭrānivāsin—a convert to Buddhism, with a promise to marry his daughter to him, if he joined hands against the foolish anti-Buddhist King Puṣyamitra. The proposal was accepted and after crushing Puṣyamitra with his army under a rock thrown by Kṛmiśa, the young Yakṣa ruler undertook an invasion of India and proceeded as far as Kusumdhvaja ; but he subsequently returned because of trouble at home. It is "supposed to be a reference to the struggle between Demetrius and Eucratides which ultimately led to the overthrow of the latter from the Bactrian throne (C. 175 B. C.)." He, therefore, suggests that the death of Puṣyamitra a little earlier on the frontiers made the Greek attack up to Pātaliputra an easy matter.

This account is be based on the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a work assigned by Jayaswal to C. 770 A. D. *(Imperial History of India* p. 3.*)*

a considerable extent. The chief events of his reign were the settlement of the Vidisā and Vidarbha affair, the invasion of the Yavanas, the performance of two horse sacrifices, and the possible invasion of Magadha by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, as suggested by some scholars. These events may now be considered after carefully weighing the related evidence.

The Vidarbha Problem :

The only reference to it is afforded by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1] of Kālidāsa, a drama written about six hundred years later than the actual occurrence of the event. Though the evidentiary value of this work is not much, firstly, because it is a drama, and secondly, written so many centuries later; it presents a picture of the political events that took place in the earlier part of Puṣyamitra's reign, which, in point of sequence, appear to be true. Patānjali has not referred to this affair in the Deccan, but the reference to the horse sacrifice in the drama following the settlement of this question, which is evident from the *Mahābhāṣya* and the Ayodhyā inscription, point out the truth in this dramatic story. The only complicated matter in this drama is the reference to Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra, as a King and the latter as a Senāpati. It is, however, not insoluble. The *Divyāvadāna*[2] includes Puṣyamitra in the list of Mauryan monarchs ruling for sixty years. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3] suggested that this period included his total duration of power, both as a Senāpati, and as a real ruler. During this period, the viceroyalty of Vidisā might have been conferred on Agnimitra who, probably, assumed a regal status after the extinction of the Mauryan empire.

Vidarbha, corresponding to modern Berar, is referred to in this drama as a new kingdom established not long age *(acirādhiṣṭhita)*,

1. Act. I.

2. p. 433, cf. Burnof : *Intro*. p. 430; Przyluski-*Legende d'Aśoka* p. 90; Luders, *Kalpanāmaṇḍiṭīka* p. 97.

3. I. H. Q. Vol. I. p. 91 f.

and the king is described as not having taken roots in the heart of his subjects (*rājyaḥ śatruḥ prakṛtiṣv arūḍhamūlatvāt*), and so his destruction was easy like a tree which is unsteady, because it has been only lately planted (*nava samrohaṇaśithilas tarur iva sukaraḥ samuddhartum*. (Act I. 8). The cause of the trouble is given in the letter written by the Vidarbha King who addresses Agnimitra as his royal brother. His cousin Mādhavasena, who had promised to enter into matrimonial alliance with him (evidently Agnimitra), while proceeding to his court, was attacked on the way by one of the wardens of Yajñasena and taken prisoner with his wife and sister. The disappearance of the Princes' sister is regretted by the Vidarbha King in his letter, and he promises to trace her out. The release of Mādhavasena along with his wife is made subject to the condition that the Mauryan Saciva, his own brother-in-law imprisoned by the Suṅga monarch, is set free.[1]

The task of destroying Yajñasena was entrusted to Vīrasena, a brother of inferior caste (*varṇāvaro bhrātā*) of Queen Dhāriṇī, the Mahiṣī of the King. He was placed by the latter in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of Mandākinī (according to certain manuscripts Narmadātīre—evidently Narmadā), which is more likely. The result of the conflict is revealed in Act V. The king of Vidarbha is reduced to submission by the king's victorious army, commanded by Vīrasena, and his relation Mādhavasena is released from captivity. An emissary is also despatched by the Vidarbha

1. *Maurya Sacivam Vimuñcati yadi pūjyaḥ saṁyatam mama śyālam moktā Mādhavasenas tato mayā bandhanāt sadyaḥ* (Act. I. 7)

This evidently, suggests that, either there was some matrimonial relation between the Mauryas and the Vidarbha family, or, as supposed by Dr. Raychaudhari, in the Mauryan Court there were two parties or factions, one headed by the King's minister, and the other by his general. The minister's partisan was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son, Agnimitra, got the viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organized his *coup* d' e'tat, by killing the Mauryan emperor and imprisoning the minister, Yajñasena declared his independence and entered into hostile relations with the usurping family (*Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* p. 236 f).

King to the Śuṅga monarch along with beautiful presents. The king, in return, established the two cousins Yajñasena and Mādhavasena as joint rulers, with separate divisions to the north and south of the river Varadā ; and the two cousins, upholding the supremacy of their Lord, divided the territory between themselves.[1] The release of the Mauryan Saciva was not a condition precedent to the truce, but, as we find later on in the drama itself, he was released when the good news about the success of Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, was received by his father Agnimitra and a general amnesty was granted.[2]

The Yavana Invasion:

The next important event of the time of Puṣyamitra, was the Yavana invasion which certainly took place once, but very likely twice. The authenticity of Patañjali's reference to the Yavana Invasion, resulting in the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, is corroborated by the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the conjectural reference to the Yavana and Dimita in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The data from these sources, when pieced together, reveal the then condition of Northern India, and the advance of the Yavana forces. The invasion of the Yavanas must have been an event of national importance, witnessed by Patañjali, and quoted by him as an illustration for the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to the people, but not witnessed by the speaker, though possible of being seen by him.[3] The *Gārgī*

1. *dvidhā vibhakttam śriyam udvahantau,*
dhuram rathāśvāv iva saṁgrahītuḥ
tau sthāsyatas te nṛpatir nideśe
parasparāvagraha nirvikārau. (Act V. 14).

2. *Yajñasenaśyālam Urarikṛtya mucyantām* (mocyātām)
sarve bandhanasthā (Act V. p. 101).

3. *Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayokturdarśanaviṣaye laṅ vaktavyaḥ*
Arunadyavanaḥ Sāketam arunadyavano Madhyamikām
III. 2. 111. p. 119. L. 45.

Saṁhitā[1] refers to the Yavanas reaching as far as Pātaliputra and occupying it. This Greek invasion covered Sāketa, Pañcāla, Mathurā and the Śuṅga capital Pātaliputra. Internal dissentions, coupled with trouble at home, compelled the Yavanas to retire from Madhyadeśa,[2] while, according to the conjectural reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription, a psychological fear consequent to the defeat of Brahaspatimitra at the hands of Khāravela compelled them to leave Mathura.[3]

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa furnishes certain details regarding the Yavana invasion, and the performance of horse sacrifice which may be considered. Firstly, Agnimitra, son of the Senāpati, had a son, young enough to command the forces backing the horse. Secondly, the defeat of the Yavanas took place at the banks of the Sindhu; and thirdly, Puṣyamitra seems to have performed this horse sacrifice in a befitting manner, as he asks his son in the drama to ward off anger from his mind and join the celebrations along with his wives.[4] The cause of this anger is not revealed, nor has it been ascertained so far. We hope to take this fact into consideration later on, while discussing the probability of two horse sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch. Now, as regards the Yavana invasion, mentioned by Kālidāsa, is it identical with the one mentioned by Patañjali, and noticed in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, and the Hāthīgumphā inscription? If so, then did it happen in the early years of Puṣyamitra's reign or at a considerably later time. The identity of the Yavana ruler with Demetrius is not possible in the latter case, because his period of

1. *tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañcālān Mathurāṁ tathā*
Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntā (:) prāpsyanti kusumdhvajam
tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite
ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ
J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV. p. 402, LL. 22-25.

2. *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadā* ibid., L. 42.

3. Cf. Jayaswal's Reading.—J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 425 f.

4. *tad idānīm akālahīnaṁ vigataroṣacetasā bhavatā badhūjanena saha yajñasevanāya āgantavyam iti-* Act V. p. 100.

activity, according to Tarn[1], extended between B. C. 184 and 167 as the terminal points with the presumption that the occupation of Pātaliputra took place in C. 175 B. C.

It is probable that there were two Yavana invasions, as mentioned by Apollodorus[2], and both took place during the reign of Puṣyamitra which was a fairly long one, extending over a period of 36 years. The first one seems to have taken place in the earlier part of his reign, and here one may agree with Dr. Tarn who worked out the dates on the basis of Greek sources. At this time Puṣyamitra capitulated. Probably he purchased peace for some reason or the other. This pusillanimity on the part of his father, or some other misunderstanding might have been the cause of Agnimitra's anger with the result that he cut off all relations with his father and retained his independent status and seat at Vidisā. As the Yavanas had to leave because of internal dissentions necessitating Demetrius' immediate attention, Puṣyamitra got an opportunity to regain his lost prestige. The liberation of the country, as a result of the voluntary withdrawl of the Greeks, impelled the Śuṅga monarch to perform his first horse sacrifice. Incidentally, one notices that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* the Yavana invasion is cited as an illustration earlier than the reference to the sacrifice for Puṣyamitra. Some aversion seems to have crept in between Puṣyamitra and his son for reasons, political or personal, which could not be removed for long.

The second Yavana invasion probably took place during the later years of Puṣyamitra's reign, when Menander,—at first the commander of forces in Demetrius' army[3]—marched towards the Mid-land country (Madhya-deśa). The coins of this ruler were found as far as Yamunā[4] and he is better known in Indian history than Demetrius. Menander may have succeeded in keeping hold

1. Greeks in Bactria and India p. 133.
2. Strabo. XI. 516.
3. Op. cit. p. 140.
4. Num. chro. 1872 p. 159; I. A. Vol. XXXIII 1904, p. 217.

over some portion of eastern Punjab, with his capital at Śāgala. The attempt of the Yavanas to contest against the Śuṅgas, while the sacrificial horse was moving, completely failed; and the latter were fortunate this time. It appears that Kālidāsa in his drama refers to this horse sacrifice, probably performed after the defeat of the Yavanas. Puṣyamitra had good ground to patch up differences with his eldest son Agnimitra, for the feat was accomplished by the latter's son; and the invitation to attend the ceremony along with the wives, was in consonance with the desire of the aged father to mend matters. Instances can be multiplied to prove that filial feeling ultimately composes differences between the father and his son.

In connection with the Yavana invasion, we may also consider the data, if any, furnished by the Hāthigumphā inscription, and interpreted by numerous scholars. K. P. Jayaswal, restored the letters after the '*Yavanarāja*'. He read the letters as *Dimita*[1] whom he identified with Demetrius, which was accepted by the late R. D. Banerjee[2] and Sten Konow.[3] He translated line 8 as follows:—"on account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i. e. the capture of the Goratha-giri-fortress and the siege of Rājagṛha etc., mentioned in the last sentence), the Greek King Demet (rios), drawing in his army and transport, returned to abandon Mathurā." Jayaswal also referred to the information given by the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* that the Yavanas, after taking Sāketa, Pañcāla and Mathurā, were marching towards Kusumdhvaja. "In the same place in a subsequent śloka," wrote Jayaswal, "which was not cited and translated by Kern, Dharmamita is mentioned, which seems to me to refer to Demetrios."[4]

If we accept the views of Jayaswal, then this Yavana invasion and the subsequent retreat of the Greeks, must be associated with

1. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIII. p. 227 and Refs.
2. Ibid., p. 221.
3. A. O. Vol. I. p. 27.
1. Op. cit. p. 229.

the first invasion which took place in the earlier years of Puṣyamitra's reign. Now, the acceptance of this view depends on two factors—namely the correct reading of line 8, and the identification of this Greek ruler with Demetrius. As regards the first point B. M. Barua made it clear in the preface to his old "Brāhmī inscriptions"[1] that "the inscription (Hāthigumphā) contains no statement as to the Greek King Dimita—Demetrios retracing with his troops and transport to abandon Mathurā." He further suggested that there was no reference, whatsoever, to the Greek King (Yavanarāja), far from mentioning his name. Perusing the estampage, published in the 'Journal,' one has reason to suspect Jayaswal's correct reading, and feels that the latter was led astray by unconscious speculation. Dr. Tarn in an appendix on 'Demetrius in the Hāthigumphā inscription',[2] has boldly pointed out that "the decipherment was conjectural affording no firmer ground to the historian, but it may be right about the fact of withdrawl, even though the reason be wrongly given." Citing Sten Konow's views that, "if the inscription of Khāravela really mentions Demetrius (note the if), then he was the king of the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā mentioned by Patañjali, which would mean (among other things) that it was he and not Menander who led the Greek advance south-eastward and he and not Apollodotus who led the Greek advance southward of Sindh. Had the relations between Demetrius and his lieutenants ever been worked out, such a theory would never have been put forward."

It, however, appears that the Hāthigumphā inscription furnishes no evidence regarding either some Yavanarāja or Dimita identified with Demetrius.

Aśvamedha Sacrifices:

The reference to a horse sacrifice by the Senāpati Puṣyamitra

1. p. xii.
2. p. 459.

Śuṅga, is traced in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa,[1] but the Ayodhyā inscription[2] refers to two horse sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch. (*Kosalādhipena dvirāśvamedha-yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Puṣyam(i) trasya* L. 1). Patañjali mentions *Yajña* being performed for Puṣyamitra (*iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*).[3] The epigraphic evidence is to be considered as authentic, and it is generally accepted by scholars that the Śuṅga monarch performed two horse sacrifices, but the question is when? According to Patañjali, if the illustrations in his commentary on the sūtras be in time sequence, the reference to the invasion of the Yavanas resulting in the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā precedes the one mentioning the performance of sacrifice for Puṣyamitra. It, therefore, appears that after the Yavanas had left and the country was liberated, Puṣyamitra performed the sacrifice, but it was not as befitting or glorious as the second one after the defeat of the Yavanas.

Certain scholars have associated the performance of these sacrifices with other events. K. P. Jayaswal[4] had suggested that Puṣyamitra performed the second horse sacrifice to vindicate his position after he had suffered humiliation at the hands of Khāravela. According to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari,[5] the two horse sacrifices were performed after the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas. D. R. Bhandarkar[6] presupposed that the first Aśvamedha sacrifice coincided with the besiege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and the second invasion seems to be adverted to in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*. As regards the second one, he pointed out that after the western-most part of the Āryā-varta was seized upon and annexed to the Greek kingdom of Menander, when things settled down, Puṣyamitra, despite the loss of a small territory, celebrated his

1. Act V. p. 100. *Yo 'sau Rājasūyayajñadīkṣitena.*
2. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X. p. 202 f, and Ref.
3. III. 2. 123 p. 123 L.4.
4. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X. p. 205.
5. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* p. 267.
6. I. C. Vol. I. p. 279.

Aśvamedha Yajña which appears to be the same as referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra.*

Regarding the Vidarbha problem, it is pointed out in this drama that King Agnimitra sent his forces and brought Yajñasena to his feet, and this affair ended with the division of the kingdom. It may have been done according to his instructions, or on behalf of his father, for which there is no evidence; but surely it was not an event of national importance which required the performance of anhors esacrifice. The great danger was from the north-west. Regarding Khāravela, it will be shown later on that he was not a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, as assumed by some scholars, and Jayaswal's view in the face of the available evidence is untenable. It has been suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1] that the performance of horse sacrifice was to establish his claim to the Magadhan throne, both as a *defacto* and a *dejure* ruler. Puṣyamitra must have taken some time before he could undertake such a venture. The logical presumption is, that the liberation of the country from the hold of the Yavanas, though done voluntarily, coincided with the first horse sacrifice, while the second one followed the defeat of Menander in the life time of the Śuṅga monarch, as mentioned by Kālidāsa.

The supposed invasion of King Khāravela:

The Hāthigumphā inscription has baffled historians for a long time. It is supposed to furnish some information on the retreat of the Yavanas, but it definitely refers to the defeat of the king of Magadha. Some scholars have worked out the relations between Puṣyamitra and this ruler on the basis of certain data from this inscription. The first passage—'*Panamtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate rājā-Muriya Kāle vocchine*' was construed by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji[2] to mean "the eighth year in which Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga and when this era was possibly founded". It corresponds to B. C. 255 and, therefore, the date in the inscription, when Khāravela did

1. I. H. Q. Vol. I part I, p. 91.
2. *Congres de Leyden,* 1883, III. p. 135.

certain works in the Udaigiri caves, is 165 Maurya or B. C. 255—165=90 B. C. As this is the thirteenth year of Khāravela's accession, 103 B. C. be marked as his year of accession. Bühler[1] adopted Indraji's views regarding the thirteenth year of Khāravela corresponding to the 165th year of the Mauryan era, which, according to him, began with the coronation of Candragupta between 322-312 B. C., and he placed Khāravela's accession between 170 and 160 B. C.

According to Fleet,[2] "the passage nowhere refers to any date. *Panamtariya* could not mean 'sixty five', though it might mean 'seventy five' in that way. It represents Sanskrit—*Prajñāptarya;* and further *Vocchine* or *Vocchimne* could not correspond to Sanskrit *Vicchina*, but is the well-known Jain technical term *Vocchinna*= *Vyavacchinnāni*, applied to sacred texts which have been "cut off, interrupted, or neglected". The use of this term prohibits the reference to any date in the record. This contention of Fleet was endorsed by Lüders[3] and Charpentier,[4] though the views of the Bombay scholar found favour with Banerjee (R. D.), and K. P. Jayaswal[5] with differences in reading. The views of these two Indian scholars were supported by Vincent Smith[6], Dubreuil[7] and Aiyar,[8] but opposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[9] and R.P. Chanda[10] on the ground that Khāravela, being a *Ceta*, could not naturally be expected to have used the Mauryan era; and that paleographic considerations point to the first half of the first century B. C. as Khāravela's date. Leaving aside the sculptural piece of evidence, as pointed out by Sir

1. E. I. Vol. II. p. 88 f.; 824 f.
2. J. R. A. S. 1910 p. 242 f.
3. E. I. Vol. X. appendix pp. 160-1 No. 1345.
4. I. A. 1914; p. 170 n.
5. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III p. 425 f; and subsequent references.
6. J. R. A. S. 1918 p. 543 f; 1919 p. 399.
7. *Anc. His. of the Deccan*-1920, p. 12.
8. I. A. 1920, p. 43 f.
9. I. A. 1918, p. 223 f; 1919, p. 187 f;
10. I. A. 1919, p. 214 f; J. R. A. S. 1919, f. 395 f.

John Marshall,[1] which belongs to a considerably late period, we may confine the discussion to the interpretation of the passage. Sten Konow[2] also contended that King Khāravela, who was not a Maurya, would not date his epigraph in the Mauryan era, the less so, because the rule of the Mauryas had ceased before his time.

The other passage supposed to furnish some date is in line 6. *Paṁcame ca dāni vase Naṁdarāja—ti-vasa-sata-oghātitam Tanasuliya vāṭā panādiṁ nagaram pavesayati(')* *sata—(saha)—sehi ca (khānā) pa (yati)*. The expression *ti-vasa-sata* may mean 103 years or 300 years after Nandarāja-King Nanda. According to Jayaswal,[3] it should mean 300 years; and he placed Khāravela and Puṣyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whome he identified with Nandavardhana. Dr. Raychaudhari[4] objected to this identification on the ground that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga King and the Śaiśunāgis do not appear to have done anything in Kaliṅga. This Nandāraja should be identified with Mahāpadma or one of his son, as the conqueror of Kaliṅga. Taking *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of 300 years, it is easy to conclude that the rise of Khāravela, probably synchronised with the fall of the Śuṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the Magadhan power.

The identification of this Nandarāja was opposed by Barua[5] in view of the conclusive statements from the Aśokan Rock EdictXIII-that the Mauryan Emperor was the first amongst the Indian kings, reigning after the demise of Budha, to conquer the unconquered land of Kaliṅga (*avijitaṁ vijinitum*). He suggested two alternatives either to identify Nandarāja with Aśoka, and assign Khāravela's accession in the second quarter of the 1st century A. D., interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of 300 years, or by identifying him with *Śiśunandi* or *Yaśonandi* who snatched away Vidisā from the Śuṅga dominions

1. C. H. I. Vol. I p. 624 f ; 638 f.
2. Op cit. p. I7.
3. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIII. p. 253.
4. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind. 3rd.* ed. p. 257.
5. Op. cit. p. 281.

at the fall of the Śuṅga power, and assign Khāravela's accession in the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of 103 years.

Now, whether we interpret the expression as 300 or 103 deducing it from the era, or supposed event, dating from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda, or the accession of Candragupta Maurya or Aśoka, the Kaliṅga hero in no way becomes the contemprorary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Scholars, especially K. P. Jayaswal and others who followed him, have identified Bahāsatimitra—Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra on the flimsiest ground that Bṛhaspati is the regent of the Nakṣatra or Zodical asterism Puṣyā, also called Tiṣyā, in the constellation cancer or the crab. The association of Bṛhaspati with Puṣyā cannot be a safe ground for the identification of the defeated Magadhan ruler with the performer of the two horse sacrifices. The palaeography of the Hāthigumphā record is an evidence pointing to its late character. A number of letters with thick headed vertical or serif *ka* with the lower part of the vertical prolonged, invariable round *ga, cha* of the butterfly type with two loops, and *ta* having in most cases rounded lower part, help us in determining the approximate age of this record. According to R. P. Chanda,[1] the Hāthigumphā inscription is later in date not only than Aśoka's edicts, and the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions, but is posterior to the Bhārhut Toraṇa inscription and the Nānāghāt inscription of the Āndhra King Śrī Śātakarṇi I.

Analysing the evidence, furnished by the coins, there is hardly any ground for identifying Bahasatimitra with Puṣyamitra, because the former belonged to that group of rulers which included Agnimitra whose coins have also been found. According to Allan,[2] the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra II (Bahasatimitasa), Agnimitra (Agimitasa), and Jyeṣṭhamitra (Jeṭhamitasa) form the next group and are closely connected. He has clearly pointed out that, "Bṛhaspatimitra

1. I. H. Q. Vol. V. p. 599.
2. *Cat. Coins. Anc. Ind.* p. xcvi.

(evidently) of this group is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription, while the epigraphy of the Pabhosā inscription agrees very well with that of Bṛhaspatimitra II's coins. It appears probable that the person issuing coins was different from the one defeated by Khāravela; and it is certain that the latter cannot be identified with Puṣyamitra. This fact is well-supported from different standpoints.

Puṣyamitra's Successors:—

According to some Purāṇas, after a rule of 36 years, Puṣyami tra was succeeded by Agnimitra; but the name of this successor is not noticed in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, and the next in order is Vasujyeṣṭha.[1] The two lines from the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* furnish some interesting evidence which was taken into consideration by Jayaswal in building up an hypothesis. Puṣyamitra, according to Jayaswal, divided his empire into sub-kingdoms, as he interpreted *Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam*, and his eight sons ruled jointly. (*Puṣpamitra-Sutās c-āṣṭāu bhaviṣyanti sāmā nṛpāḥ*)[2] It is further implied that Vasujyeṣṭha alias Sujyeṣṭha was the eldest. As regards *Kārayiṣyati* in the Purānic text, Pargiter noticed another form *Kariṣyati* in a manuscript,[3] denoting plain future rather than causative. *Samā* should stand for years and not equal, and *aṣṭha*, evident'y, means "eight", and not "eight sons", as presumed by Jayaswal. The point worth consideration is the absence of Agnimitra's name. If we count the individual reigns of all the Śuṅga monarchs, the total duration comes to 120 years, but according to the Purāṇas, it is only 112 years (*śatam pūrṇaṁ śate dve)*. This is easily explained by Pargiter as due to the reckoning factors of years as whole years. This explanation may fit in well, but the reason is to be found in the absence of Agnimitra's name in the lists furnished by the two Purāṇas. It can be conjectured that Puṣyamitra had two sons: Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra.

1. Op. cit.
2. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X. p. 202 f. & Vol. XV. p. 583.
3. Mt: jmt. Op. cit. p. 31, No. 6,

Vasu, the elder, was in the capital as heir apparent, while Agnimitra was the Viceroy. The fraternal jealousy, so common in the princes of blue blood, might have been an additional cause of his anger, which is clear from the father's letter to his son mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra.* To compose their differences, Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, was appointed commander of the forces. It appears probable that after Puṣyamitra's death, his sons Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra ruled concurrently, the former with with his capital at Pātaliputra and the latter at Vidisā. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,*[1] Vasumitra is the son of Sujyeṣṭha, also evident from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[2] (though in the Matsya it is *tathā* and not *sutā).* This contradicts the evidence furnished by the drama of Kālidāsa. Under these circumstances, either we identify Agnimitra with Sujyeṣṭha-Vasujyeṣṭha, but that disturbs the chronological list, or accept the reading of the *Matsya Purāṇa*[3] which dose not identify the two. It would be advisable to presume that the two brothers ruled at the same time, and the elder one probably died without leaving any issue, so the nephew succeeded his uncle; and after his father's death he combined the two kingdoms of Pātaliputra and Vidisā. There is no indication of joint rule, as suggested by Jayaswal, He contended[4] that *Sugānamraje* in the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti, evidently, suggests 'the rule of the Śuṅgas', because this is in genitive plural, but there is no evidence to warrant this suggestion. The expression appears to be very common, referring probably to the empire of the Śuṅgas. Moreover, there is no reason to place this record of Dhanabhūti in the time of Puṣyamitra.

Nothing is known about Vasujyeṣṭha who is placed third in the list; but, about Agnimitra, it has been suggested by some scholars[5] that, he should be identified with the ruler of the same name

1. Wilson—IV. 24.
2. 99. 330. *Ānandāśrama* ed. p. 383. 11. 38.
3. 27. 2. 27 f. *Ānandāśrama* ed. p. 553, 11. 21.
4, Op. cit. p. 202.
5. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII. 1932, p. 549 f. and Refs.

whose coins nave been found mostly in Rohilkhand. Cunningham[1] doubted the identity of this ruler with the Śuṅga monarch, and suggested that he probably belonged to a local dynasty of northern Pañcāla, because his name alone agrees with the Pauranic list and not of others. Secondly, the circulation of his coins was confined within the limits of northern Pañcāla. The first point was controverted by Rivett-Carnac,[2] and Jayaswal,[3] followed by many other scholars, who suggested that several others, besides Agnimitra. could be identified; as for example, Jeṭhamitra with Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha (simply called Jyeṣṭha in the K. *Viṣṇu* manuscript), Bhadraghoṣa with Ghoṣa, and Bhūmimitra with the Kāṇva King of that name. According to Dr. Raychaudhari,[4] 'several names cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vāsudeva Kāṇva and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the Āndhra (bhṛtya)s and Śiśunandi'. Regarding the circulation and finds of these coins, it has been suggested that Mitra coins were found at Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, and Mathurā, as well as in Pañcāla. Names of two Mitra Kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā, as well as, on coins discovered at Mathurā and Pañcāla.[5] Dr. Raychaudhnrī suggests that in the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras were a local dynasty of north Pañcāla,

It is pointed out earlier that the Mitra coins, found in north

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1. *Coins, Anc. Ind.* p. xcvi.
2. J. A. S. B. 1880, p. 21 f.
3. J, B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 477.
4. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* p. 269.
5. C. H. I. Vcl. I, p. 526.

According to Rapson, Brahmamitra, King of Mathurā, was probably a contemporary of King Indramitra of Ahichatra, for both the names are noticed in the dedicatory inscription of queens on the railing pillars at Bodh Gayā which are assigned by archaeologists to the earliest part of the first century B. C.

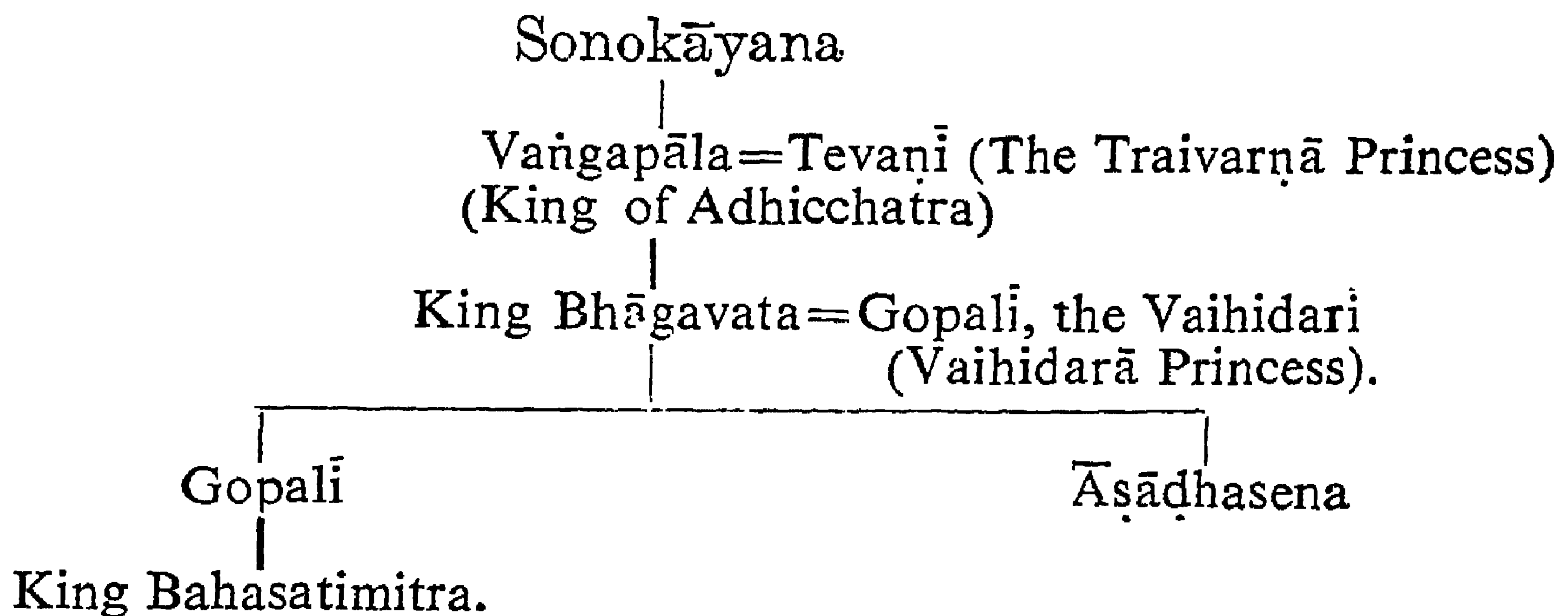
Pañcāla in Rohilkhand, suggest the existence of a separate local dynasty, quite distinct from the Śuṅga family, It is, however, overlooked by Jayaswal and others that if we identify Agnimitra of the coins with the Śuṅga King, then what about the other Śuṅga rulers ? Did not they issue coins ? Further, is is clear that Agnimitra was a ruler at Vidisā, as pointed out by Kālidāsa, but curiously enough such Pañcāla coins of his name are not found there, nor at Pātaliputra. One or two stray coins, if found anywhere, do not suggest the established authority of that ruler over that region. It was generally the pilgrims who brought them. Moreover, names with-*mitra* suffix were very common, and if certain rulers had those names, surely that would not be a reasonable ground for identifying them with the famous Śuṅga rulers, One may, however, accept Dr. Raychaudhari's views that the Pañcāla rulers may have been the remnants of the Śuṅga family of Puṣyamitra after the last ruler of this dynasty was killed by the Kāṇva usurper Vāsudeva. We shall, however, consider this point again when we take the local dynastics into consideration.

Vasumitra and other Śuṅga rulers :

Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, is fourth in the Pauranic list. He is well known, as the hero of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice, performed by his grandfather. His career is shrouded in mystery, except for the reference to the defeat of the Yavanas at the hands of the young prince on the bank of the Sindhu (Kālī Sindhu) in Central India in the time of his grand father. According to the Purāṇas, he ruled for a period of ten years and was succeded by Antaka or Bhadraka, according to the *Matsya*, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* respectively. He is named Ārdraka or Odruka in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Jayaswal established[1] his identity with Udāka mentioned in a Pabhosā inscription in the Allahabad district. It would be proper to consider the genealogical table, as drawn by Führer[2] on the basis of the Pabhosā record, and the suggestive identification this ruler.

1, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III, p. 474.

2. E. I. Vol. II. p. 243.



The reference to Udāka is made in the other inscription of Āṣāḍhasena[1] of the same genealogical list, who caused a cave to be dug in the tenth year of a ruler whose name is not very clear, but is presumed to be Udāka. According to Führer[2], all letters are doubtful, and if we take the second inscription into consideration, it is Bahasatimitra who was ruling at Kauśāmbī, close to the place where the cave was excavated, and so Jayaswal's identification of this ruler with the fifth Śuṅga monarch is not probable. One may agree with Sir John Marshall[3] in identifying him with King Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, mentioned in a Garuḍa pillar inscription found at Vidisā. Jayaswal, however, identified this Bhāgabhadra of the Heliodorus Pillar inscription with Bhāgavata the ninth Śuṅga ruler, The reference to a different Mahārāja Bhāgavata in another Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription,[4] thus distinguishes Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra from the latter, and so the identity of the fifth ruler with the contemporary of Antialkidas be established, The reign of this ruler is notable for the diplomatic and cultural relations between the King of Vidisā and his Greek contemporary.

Bhadraka's successors are unknown except in names, found in the Pauranic list, but the ninth ruler Bhāgavata ruled for a

1. E. I,Vol, II, p. 242, No, 1
2. Op. cit,
3. Guide to Sāñchī p. 11; Bloch and Sir John read Kosīputra (Skt Kautsīputra) in place of Kāśīputra. (J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 1055; Z. D. M. G., Vol. 64, p. 589.)
4. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIII P. 144, A. S. I. A. R. 1913-4. p. 160. LL. 7 .... Bhāgavate Mahārāje"

period of 32 years. He is identified by D. R. Bhandarkar[1] with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata, mentioned in one of the Besnagar inscriptions. The last ruler was Devabhūti who was overthrown, according to the Purāṇas after a reign of ten years by his *amātya* Vāsudeva.[2] This last Śuṅga ruler, probably young in age, lost his life owing to his lustful habits. According to Bāṇa,[3] the over libidinous Śuṅga was reft of his life by his *amātya* Vāsudeva through the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman disguised as his queen. The Śuṅgas, thus, paved way for the Kāṇvas, as their predecessor had attained the Mauryan empire. They, no doubt, lost Magadha, but it seems that the Śuṅga princes continued to exist in other parts of the empire. for another half a century, when the Āndhras eliminated the last remnants of the Brahmanic regal family. According to Dr. Raychaudhary,[4] after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śiśuka (Simuka of the inscriptions) annexed Purikā, but placed Vidisā under his maternal relations.

Kāṇvas :

The Kānvāyaṇas, also known as the Śuṅgabhṛtyas, are mentioned in the Purāṇas,[5] as the successors of the Śuṅgas. The minister Vāsudeva, forcibly overthrew the dissolute King Devabhūti, and became the king among the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgeṣu bhavitā nṛpaḥ*). This Kāṇva king ruled for nine years (*nava Kāṇvāyano dvijaḥ*). His son Bhūmimitra is assigned 14 years (*Bhūmimitraḥ sutas tasya caturdaśa bhaviṣyati*). The last two kings—Nārāyaṇa and his son Suśarman, are given 12 and 10 years respectively. (*Nārāyaṇaḥ sutas tasya bhavitā*

1. Quoted in *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* p. 272,
2. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 33.
   Amātyo Vāsudevas tu bālyād vyasaninaṁ nṛpam
   Devabhūmim ath=otsādyā śauṅgas tu bhavitā nṛpaḥ
3. Cowell & Thomas p. 193
4. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* p. 272.
5. A Mt. 272. 32.37[b]; Vā. 99 343.7[b]; Bd. iii, 74, 156-160.[b a] cf. also V. S. IV, 24.12; Bh. XII. I. 19 - 21.
   Ref. Pargiter, p. 33.

dvādaś=aiva tu-Suśarma tat-sutas, c=āpi bhaviṣyati daś=aiva tu.) These, remembered as Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇvāyana Kings, are apportioned a total period of 45 years. It is also mentioned in the Purāṇas that they will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. The last lines suggest the existence of other rulers as well in Madhyadeśa, who were probably owing allegiance to the Kāṇvas, and secondly, these Kāṇvāyana kings ruled righteously, probably because the political situation was easy. The period covered by this dynasty is unaccountable in Ancient Indian History. Unfortunately, coins of none of these rulers have been found which could throw some light, at least, on the extension of their empire. They, however, witnessed the disintegration of the Śuṅga empire into small local states some of which probably recognized the Magadhan supremacy, though they issued their own coins. It is just possible that this process of break-up may have started earlier than presumed. Despite the absence of inscriptional and numismatic data, the scanty material at our disposal furnishes proof of the existence of small states of Pañcāla, Vatsa with its centre at Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Vidisā; the Indo-Greeks, well established in the North-west with their capital at Sāgala-Sialkot, and Khāravela in Kaliṅga.

Kingdom of Pañcāla:

Ancient tribal coins, found at Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, and Mathurā refer to several dynastic rulers who were either contemporaries of the Śuṅgas, or came to power with the crumbling of the Brahmanical empire. A study of their coins engaged the attention of many scholars,[1] within the last half a century or more. The

1. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 549 f. for all previous reference.

Recently T. P. Bhattacarya also made an attempt to co-relate the kings bearing the title *'Mitra'* whose coins have been found in various places of Northern India. Hardly any new piece of evidence is adduced, and the reshuffling of the data does not advance our knowledge on this point. Ref. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XXXV-pts. I & II - 1949 p. 47 f.

names of rulers in different groups suggest that these dynasties continued to exist for a fairly long period. The Pañcāla group, as for example, includes as many as 13 rulers whose coins have generally been found in the Rohilkhand division. According to Cunningham,[1] the findspots of these coins were Ahicchatra, Aonla and Budaon, and their circulation was confined only to north Pañcāla. While considering the identity of these Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅgas, he rightly pointed out that, "the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin-names, Agnimitra, is found in the Pauranic list of the Śuṅgas". Therefore, he was inclined to assign the coins to a local dynasty, since they were rarely found beyond the limits of north Pañcāla, which would not have been the case if they belonged to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas. The reference to Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, as King of Vidisā on the Vetravatī, led Cunningham to conclude that the Śuṅgas were rulers of eastern Malwa, distinct from those of the Pañcāla group.

This view was not accepted by some scholars[2] who tried to show that several coin-names, besides that of Agnimitra, could be identified with those of the Śuṅga group, as mentioned in the Purāṇas; and, secondly, Mitra coins were also found at Ayodhyā and Mathurā. According to Rapson,[3] the coins under this heading have usually been attributed to the Śuṅga or Mitra dynasty. He pointed out that "the formation of the names which generally end in *mitra* is similar in either case; and the Śuṅga period, inferred from the Purāṇas, B. C. 176-66, is that of the style and epigraphy of the coins". He noticed some connection between these coins and the Mitra coins found at Ayodhyā.

K. P. Jayaswal[4] identified the Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅga

1. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 75.

2. Op. cit.

3. Indian Coins p. 13..

4. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 479.

Kāṇva kings in the following order:—

1.	Bahasati-mitra	Puṣyamitra Śuṅga
2.	Agnimitra	Agnimitra ,,
3.	Bhānumitra	Vasumitra ,,
4.	Jeṭhamitra (or Sūrya-mitra)	Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha ,,
5.	Ghoṣa and Bhadraghoṣa ... (occasionally misread as Aśvaghoṣa)	Ghoṣavasu or Ghoṣa ,,
6.	Indramitra	Vajramitra Śuṅga
7.	Devamitra	Devabhūti ,,
8.	Bhūmimitra	Bhūmimitra Kāṇva (This coin, being the latest of the Mitra coins shows that apparently the Kāṇvas followed the style of the Śuṅga Kings)

Without considering the merit of Jayaswal's identification, it may be pointed out here that the list identified is neither complete from the Pauranic side, nor does it bring out the names of all the Pañcāla rulers. According to Allan[1]—the Pañcāla rulers, whose coins were found with inscribed legends at Ahicchatra, are the following :—

Agnimitra (Agnimitrasa), Bhadraghoṣa (Bhadraghoṣasa), Bhānumitra (Bhānumitrasa), Bhūmimitra (Bhūmimitrasa), Dhruvamitra (Dhruvamitrasa), Indramitra (Indramitrasa), Jayagupta (Jayaguptasa), Jayamitra (Jayamitrasa), Phalgunimitra (Phalgunimitrasa), Rudragupta

1. Op. cit. p. cxvii.

(Rudraguptasa) Sūryamitra (Sūryamitrasa), Viṣṇumitra (Viṣṇumitrasa), and Viśvapāla (Viśvapālasa). The coin of Bṛhaspatimitra adds one more king to the list. Recently a few new rulers have been added to the Pañcāla group. K. N. Dikshit found at Ahicchatra coins of a new Pañcāla ruler, Varuṇamitra;[1] Dr. V. S. Agrawala has referred to a new Pañcāla coin, evidently of another ruler—Prajāpatimitra,[2] while another name Vaṅgapāla, a king of Ahicchatra, is mentioned by Dr. A. S. Altekar[3] on the basis of his coin. The list, thus, goes on multiplying, the number being now sixteen, of which apparently there is only one name that could be identical with the Pauranic list. Agnimitra's name also appears in the list of rulers whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī.[4] If the Pañcāla King Agnimitra was the Śuṅga King at Vidisā, then certainly his coins should have been found over there, as well as at Pātaliputra, but that is not so.

Now, comparing the coins of Agnimitra of the Pañcāla group with those of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī, one hardly notices any similarity. The usual three symbols on the obverse of the Pañcāla type are not noticed in the Kauśāmbī group where one finds a bull right before the mountain symbol and a cross with circles above counter-marked with a *triśūla.* On the reverse side, unlike the male figure of Agni with flaming hair and standing on a platform between two pillars in Pañcāla group, one finds here tree in railing; a symbol, probably *Jayadhvaja* on r. Are we then to presume that Agnimitra issued two types of coins—one for Pañcāla, and another for Kauśāmbī; and curiously, not a single coin of any of these two types was found either at Vidisā, the Provincial seat, or at Pātaliputra, the capital of the Śuṅga empire? The theory propagated by Jayaswal appears to have been based on picking up a few names from the Pañcāla and Kauśāmbī groups, and then identifying them with the Śuṅga monarchs without proper consideration of

1. J. N. S. I. Vol. III. p. 79.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 18.
4. Allan. Op. cit, p. 153.

the symbols and the types of these coins. A proper study would convince anybody that the Pañcāla group of coins have an entirely separate entity from the Kauśāmbī group, and except for Agnimitra, there are no other identical names. If the Śuṅgas were really rulers of Pañcāla, then their coins should have been found in abundance in all the provinces of their empire, and even if they be supposed to have issued different types of coins for different regions, there should not have been difference in the names of rulers whose coins have been found at different places. We have, therefore, no alternative but to agree with Cunningham, whose views have been endorsed by Allan, that the Pañcāla rulers formed a separate local dynasty which is evident from a uniform type of symbols, noticed on the coins of all the rulers in this group.

Except for mere names, there is hardly any evidence regarding their political history. The existence of the kingdom of North Pañcāla with its capital at Ahicchatra is also noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*[1]; and Patañjali distinguishes northern Pañcāla from Eastern Pañcāla. Are we then to presume that the Pañcāla dynasty existed during the period of the Śuṅgas and continued even after them ? It might have been sub-servient to Pātaliputra enjoying local autonomy with power to issue coins, but one cannot be certain for want of evidence.

Rulers of Kauśāmbī :

The kings of Kauśāmbī, formed a separate group, as is evident from coins found there, as well as from the two Pabhosā records,

1. I. I., 11. 2. 51 etc.

According to Dr. B. C. Law, the Pañcālaś were definitely feudatories to the Śuṅgas (Memoir A. S. I. No. 67 p. 9). "Patañjali knows of eastern and northern Pañcālas, hence it is possible to conclude that during the reign of Agnimitra the state was, as of old, divided into two parts each ruled over by a separate ruler". (ibid., p. 27). The findspot of a coin belonging to Vasusena, who is identified with Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, points, according to some scholārs, to the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas over northern Pañcāla (J. N. S. I. Vol. II. p. 116).

and the Morā tablet inscription which we shall notice later on, taking into consideration the numismatic data. Allan classified[1] the coins of the Kauśāmbī rulers in the following order :—

1. Bṛhaspatimitra I.
2. Parvata.
3. Aśvaghoṣa.
4. Bṛhaspatimitra II—late Second century B. C.
5. Dhanadeva —First century B. C.—First century A. D.
6. Agnimitra.
7. Jeṭhamitra.

Besides these, the earlier ones of round cast pieces of purely Indian type free from any foreign influence have also been found; but, as they do not bear the name of rulers, their historical importance is nil. The characteristic symbols of Kauśāmbī coins, common throughout the series, are a bull and a tree in railing.

Considering the epigraphic piece of evidence, an inscribed brick found at Morā[2], seven miles west of Mathurā commemorates the erection of a temple by the daughter of a King Bahasapatimitra. A Pabhosā inscription,[3] not far from Kauśāmbī, records the excavation of a cave by the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra. The question naturally arises : can we identify the two with the ruler of the same name mentioned on the Kauśāmbī coins ? The palaeography of the two records shows some difference, which is rather natural, for the Pabhosā record mentions dedication by the uncle, and the Morā one by the daughter, and if the person referred to in both is the

1. Op. cit. p. 148 f,
2. J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 120 pl. II, fig. 1.
   Jīvaputāye rājabhāryāye Bṛhāsvātimitra (dhi) tu yaśa matāye Kāritam.
3. Op. cit.

same, then there is a difference of two generations, and so the Pabhosā record should be earlier than the Mora tablet inscription. The Palaeographic study, as pointed out by Allan[1], shows just the reverse; and one rightly draws the conclusion that the two Bṛhaspatimitras are not identical. It is further observed that the Bṛhaspatimitra of the inscribed coin, who may probably be placed in the first century B. C. is different from the one who issued the struck coins (Nos. 16-25 of Allan's catalogue), which are fairly common. Apart from the striking differences in the fabric and type, the letters show signs of early character, as for example, the form of *m*, *s* and *t*. Fixing the chronology on the basis of style and Palaeography, Allan places Aśvaghoṣa (No. 17) and Parvata (Nos. 16-16a) as the earliest rulers of Kauśāmbī. The coins of Bṛhaspatimitra II, Agnimitra and Jyeṣṭhamitra form the next group, and are closely connected. They may be dated from the end of the second to the first century B. C. Dhanadeva's coins represent the last stage in the Kauśāmbī group and he may be placed in the first century A. D.

Another point, necessitating consideration here, is with regard to the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins with Bahasatimitra of the Hāthigumphā inscription[2] who was defeated by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The question of identification depends on two factors-firstly, on the correct reading of the inscription, and secondly, on the presumption that the empire of this ruler extended as far as Magadha. So far as the first point is concerned, one would like to agree with Allan, rather than with Jayaswal and others, that Bṛhaspatimitra is not mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription. "The word in question is "*bahu* (*s*.........) *idita*;" it is very probably not a proper name, for the suggested reading of the preceding words as '*Magadhā ca rājānaṁ*' is extremely improbable, philologically as well as palaeographically.[3] With reference to the second point,

1. Op cit. p. xcvi.
2. Op cit.
3. Allan: Op. cit. p. xvciii,

the Kauśāmbī coins form a series which is not disturbed, and they are localized in that particular region. So there is no question of considering Bahasatimitra as a ruler of Magadha.

Kings of Ayodhyā :

The Ayodhyā coins have no political significance worth noticing except for a few names of rulers, among whom only Kumudasena bears the title Rājā.[1] The coins of the Kings of Ayodhyā fall into two classes, as they were issued by two separate dynasties. The names of the six rulers of the first dynasty, mentioned in genitive, are; Mūladeva (Mūladevasa), Vāyudeva (Vāyudevasa), Viśākhadeva (Viśākhadevasa), Dhanadeva (Dhanadevasa), Śivadatta (Sivadatasa) ane Naradatta (Naradatasa)[2]. Another uncertain ruler Pāthadeva may also be added to the list. It is not possible to arrange them in chronological order for want of literary and epigraphic evidence.

The second dynasty, forming the third class of coins according to Allan, included Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṁghamitra Satyamitra, Āryamitra, and Vijayamitra. Only the first one bears the epithet Rājan, the others have their names only.[3] Ajavarman and Devamitra, whose coins are in the Indian Museum, may also be added to the list. These rulers are not known to history and their period, again in Allan's views, probably covered the first two centuries A. D., thereby suggesting that they were later than the Kāṇvas. The Sahet-Mahet inscription[4] of the time of Kaniṣka suggests his hold over that region, and this dynasty, there-fore, ceased to exist by that time.

Rulers of Mathurā :

The classification of Mathurā coins have brought to light two dynasties, namely, Hindu rulers whose period probably varied from

1. Ibid., p. 137 pl. xviii' 17'
2. Ibid., p. lxxxix.
3. Ibid., p. xc.
4. E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 80.

the end of the third to the middle of the first century B. C., and the Śaka rulers who succeeded the former Hindu Kings, and bore the title Kṣatrapa or Mahā-Kṣatrapa. The rulers of the first dynasty included[1] Brahmamitra (Brahmamitasa), Dṛdhamitra (Dadhamitasa) Sūryamitra (Sūryamitasa), Viṣṇumitra (Viṣṇumitasa), Puruṣadatta (Puruṣadatasa), Uttamadatta (Uttamadatasa) and Rāmadatta (Rāmadatasa). Nothing is known about these Hindu Kings of Mathurā.

The Śaka Kṣatrapa coins reveal two groups of rulers—the first including the Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa, and Hagāna ; and the second group included the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Rājuvula (Rājula) and his son Śoḍāsa, about whom much is known from the Mathurā Lion Capital,[2] the Āmohinī tablet[3] and the Jain mound inscriptions.[4] Coins have confirmed Cunningham's contention that the latter was the son of the former. The coins of Rājuvula have been recovered from the Sultanpur District up to Nurmahal in the Jullandhar Doab, and from Padham between Etah and Shikohabad and Śaṅkīsā in the Farrukhabad district in the United Provinces.[5] Rājula is certainly identical with the Mathurā Kṣatrapa Rājuvula of the Brāhmī inscription on the Morā stone slab, now in the Mathurā Museum, and also with the ruler whose coins are imitated from those of Soter II with the Greek legend on the obverse, and the Kharoṣṭhī legend *apratihatacakrasa Kṣatrapasa Rājuvulasa* on the reverse.[7] His other coins bear the Brāhmī legend *Mahākhatapasa Rājubulasa.*[8] According to Sir John Marshall stratification of finds at Taxila suggest that this ruler belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.[9]

1. Allan, Op. cit. p. cx.
2. C. I. I. Vol. II pt. I. p. 30 f
3. E. I. Vo. II. p. 199 No. 2.
4. A. S. R. Vol. III. p. 30.
5. Allan, Op. cit. p. cxv.
6. Luders List- No. 14 E. I. Vol. x.
7. Allan, Op. cit. p. 187.
8. Ibid., class II. p. 187.
9. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1914-15, p. 27.

The date of Śoḍāsa, called Suḍāsa, who was also a Mahā-Kṣatrapa, according to the Āmohinī Tablet inscription, is 42 or 72[1] which, according to Sten Konow, should be taken in the old Śaka era of 57 B. C. corresponding to 15 B. C. or 15 A. D.[2] The title Mahā-Kṣatrapa seems to indicate that these Śaka rulers of Mathurā were independent chiefs. As regards their date, Allan,[3] suggests that the coins of Hindu Kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B. C. Next come the Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa group of Śaka Kṣatrapas who may be put in about 60-40 B. C. Some of them might be contemporaries at Mathurā, with Rājuvula ruling further north. Rājuvula may be put in between the period 40-20 B. C. and Śoḍsā B. C. 20-10 or a little later.

Kaliṅga:

The Hāthigumphā inscription records the achievements of King Khāravela, who is supposed, according to some scholars, to be the contemporary of Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga and Demetrius, while others place him in the first century B. C. on palaeographic considerations, and do not trace any contemporaneity between the Śuṅga monarch and this *Ceti* ruler of Kaliṅga[4]. Basing one's contention on the correct interpretation of the expression *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 'three hundred years' after the Nanda Kings- Mahāpadma and his sons who ruled in the fourth century B. C., one naturally comes to the conclusion that Khāravela ruled in the first century B. C. As regards the history of Kaliṅga, we learn that this ruler belonged to the house of Ceta (according to some, the Cedi ruling family). Jayaswal, who considered the inscription at greater length, did not come to any conclusion on the question of the length and the period of this ruling family of Kaliṅga. He suggested[5] that Khāravela was crowned in

1. E. I. Vol. II. p. 199; E. I. Vol. IX. p. 243 f.
2. C. I. I. Vol. II. p. xxxiv.
3. Op. cit. p. cxvi.
4. Barua; *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions* pp. 4-5 for Collected References.
5. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 499.

the third dynasty of Kaliṅga, and the Ceta kings had reasserted their independence in the last days of the Mauryan rule. Khāravela was appointed heir apparent (Yuvarāja), at the age of fifteen, and he continued in that position for 9 years. He was anointed as king of Kaliṅga when he had completed his twenty-fourth year. B. M. Barua suggested[1] that, if his interpretation of the two expressions- *tatiya-puriṣa-yuga* and *tatiya-yuga sagāvasāna* be correct, Khāravela was unquestionably the sixth king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family with whose accession to the throne of Kaliṅga, the third couple of its two successive representative men was completed, and with whose father's death, the reign of third couple of kings was at an end, and his son and successor Kadampa-Kudepa came as the seventh king to be joined with him. He seems to have based his interpretation on traditions; and he further pointed out that "neither inscriptions nor traditions inform us as to who among the Mahāmeghavāhana family reigned in Kaliṅga as successors of Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa, when actually the reign of Khāravela came to an end, or what befell the Mahāmeghavāhanas after Khāravela's death". Evidently, Barua has accepted Jayaswal's contention that the contemporaries of the seven Āndhrabhṛtya Śātavāhana kings were the seven Kosala kings of the Mahāmegavāhana dynasty. This south Kosala, according to Barua,[2] formed one of the three principal divisions of Khāravela's Kaliṅga Kingdom. If it could be elicited from the Hāthigumphā record, as Barua has suggested, that Khāravela reigned as the sixth king and Kadampa-Kudepa as the seventh king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family, it may be concluded that just two other kings of this family reigned after their death; and the rule of this family came to an end within thirty or forty years of Khāravela's death.

The Hāthigumphā inscription may serve as a panegyric record of the deeds of this Kaliṅga monarch, but, as regards the dynastic history, the information supplied by it is meagre. Scholars have tried also to identify[3] the defeated Magadhan ruler with Puṣyamitra

1. Op. cit. p. 271.
2. Ibid., p. 272.
3. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III.p.474; A. O. Vol. I. p. 29.

the Śuṅga, or with Bṛhasvātimita of the Yaśamatā's Brick tablet inscription found at Morā (Mathurā drstrict) as well as with king Bahasatimitra, the maternal uncle of Āṣāḍhasena of the Pabhosā inscriptions. Here we doubt the correct reading of the inscription itself, and also propose, that none of these identifications could fit in. The Puṣyamitra-Bahasatimitra theory propagated by Jayaswal has been well-exploded, while the other one, too, is not free from criticism and suspicion, when we notice that the defeated ruler belonged to Magadha, while the two records have been found in different regions; and there is hardly any evidence of the extent of the empire of this ruler extending as far as Magadha. The whole problem is still in a confused state and unless fresh evidence is available, more information can hardly be furnished on King Khāravela's dynastic history, or on his relations with the Kings of Northern India.

Indo-Greeks:

Patañjali's reference to the Yavanas besieging Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and their achievements, as annaled in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*,[1] testify to the existence of some foreign power which was playing a prominent part in the political life of the country in that period. The ambitious designs of the Bactrian Greeks, coupled with the poor frontier defence, which had in fact collapsed during the period of the later Mauryas, made the fruition of their ambitions rather easy. Subhagasena (Sophagasenos), referred to by Polybius[2] as a Maurya, maintained relations with the Syrian family of Antiochos, probably on a footing of equality as an Independent ruler in B. C. 206. This accounts for the disintegration of the Mauryan empire even before the *coup de'tat* brought about by Puṣyamitra. It is natural to presume that a small frontier state, which seems to have cut off its relations with the centre, could hardly stem the tide of the Yavanas, and it had to give way. The hero of this victory was the Bactrian Prince Demetrius, son-in-law of Antiochos III. According to Justin,[3] Demetrius was 'King of the

1. Op. cit.
2. XI, 34,11.
3. *Watson's trans*. p. 277.

Indians' when Eucratides was King of the Bactrians and Mithradates of the Parthians. This possibly represents the middle, or the last stage in Demetrius' career, when he lost his ancestral kingdom in Bactria, and had to content himself with his new dominions in the east.

Demetrius has been identified by some with King Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[1] in the Chaucer's Knightes Tale as the great Emetreus, the King of the Inde, and also with Timitra of a Beśnagar seal.[2] The extent of his empire can be judged from the existence of several cities named after him, which were referred to by later writers, as for example, Dattamitri in Sauvīra, according to Patañjaḷi and the *Vyākaraṇa* of Kramadīśvara,[3] Demetrias polis in Arachosia in the work of Isidore of Charax, and the city of Euthydemia named after his father by Ptolemy.[4]

His invasion of Northern India, followed by the besieging of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, is referred to by Patañjali. Though the Bhāṣyakara does not mention his name, it is now generally accepted that this Yavana ruler was Demetrius. Jayaswal and Sten Konow tried to trace his name in the Hāthigumphā inscription, and the former in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* as well, but that may be going too far. We have already considered it in detail and need not repeat it. The finds of his coins, no doubt, offer an indication as to the extent of his empire.

The reference to the Yavanas, however, received the attention of some scholars who disccussed its implication, whether it referred to the Greeks alone or to all outsiders who came to India ? D. R. Bhandarkar[5] in his note on 'Śaka-Yavana' considered this question at length. Quoting Patañjali in his glossary on '*Śūrānām anirvaitā-*

1. I, 139. 23.
2. Smith-*Ear. His. India.* 4th ed. pp. 254-5.
3. I. A. 1911 p. 12.
4. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* 3rd ed. p. 262.
5. I. C. Vol. I. p. 275; also Konow's contention ibid, Vol. II. p. 189 f. and the reply given by Louis de la Vallee Poussin-ibid. Vol. II p. 549.

nām which explains that a *dvandva* compound (is singular) if it consists of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled or excluded', the late Professor explained that the Bhāṣyakāra considered *anirvasitā* in different senses. He ultimately thought that the expression meant those who could take food from the dish of any twice-born person without making it permanently unclean. The Śaka-Yavanas, quoted as an illustration by Patañjali, represented the colonies of those foreigners outside Āryāvarta *(Āryā-vartāt anirvasitānām)*. If we consider Patañjali's reference to the Saka-Yavanas living outside Āryā-varta, nevertheless in Āryan settlements, in the light of his other reference to the invasion of the Yavanas, we naturally come to the conclusion that, by the time Patañjali was writing his commentary on II.4.10, the Yavanas were not inside Āryā-varta at any point. Later on they invaded Madhyadeśa and even captured Pātaliputra, if we rely on the evidence furnished by the *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Samhitā.* It, therefore, appears that the earlier phase represents the invasion of Demetrius which had not resulted in any territorial advancement of the Yavana empire. He had to retreat hurriedly to save his dominion in the west from the clutches of Eucratides. The history, following him is, in fact, the record of struggle between the two families of Euthydemus and Eucratides-ruling concurrently in India. The only information available about them is from their coins, and some reference from the Greek literature. The history of the Śaka settlements, which seem to have been established in the time of Patañjali, is postponed for later consideration.

The House of Euthydemus :

The history of Demetrius has been considered earlier. It is now generally believed that he was the person who besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and took Pātaliputra as well, but he had soon to retreat. Smith's theory that this Yavana ruler may have been Menander is no longer pressed, nor endorsed by scholars. According to Apollodorus[1], the Indian conquest is attributed not only to

1. Strabo XI. 516.

Demetrius but also to Menander. Dr. Tarn concluded[1] that Menander was Demetrius' general who accompanied him in his Indian campaign. He further suggests that the two primary Greek sources, taken together, ascribe the conquest of Northern India to three men, Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. One line of advance was that of Menander, and the other one was shared by Demetrius and Apollodotus, the former being also responsible for the conquest of Sindh, as the *Mahābhārata* has mentioned Dattamitra, the king of the Yavanas and Sauvīras.

It is suggested by Dr. Tarn that, when Demetrius returned to Bactria, he handed over to Apollodotus, as his sub-king, everything in India outside Menander's sphere except the Paropamisadai. This is apparent from the coin-types which are the 'Zeus of Kāpiśa' and the 'humped bull of Puṣkalāvatī'. Accepting the views of Von Gutschmid, which were endorsed by Weber, Tarn has tried to trace Apollodotus in the *Mahābhārata* as King of the Yavanas under the name of Bhāgadatta.[2] The wide diffusion of his rule is attested by the extension of his empire. The relation of this ruler with Demetrius, as his youngest brother, has also been pointed out by him. (p.76)

With regard to Menander's position, it is proposed by Dr Tarn,[3] that he was till then governor or viceroy for Demetrius of all the conquests south-eastward of the river Jhelum. He may have assumed the title of King himself, probably after the death of his overlord. The exact date of his consecration as King can hardly be suggested for want of evidence. The death of Demetrius and Apollodotus, and the return of Eucratides to Bactria, as Tarn has suggested, left him complete master of the position in India. The matrimonial alliance between this general and Agathocleia, who later on acted as the regent of their son Strato I, cemented the claim of Menander to the throne. The disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrius may be accepted as an established fact.

1. Op. cit. p. 140.
2. Ibid., P. 165.
3. Ibid., p. 167.

There were probably two rival Greek kingdoms - one to the west, and the other to the east of Indus, the latter with Eucratides and Heliocles as rulers. According to Przyluski,[1] Menander's empire extended from Mathurā in the east to Barygaza (Broach) in the west; and this has been accepted as substantially correct. This Greek ruler wanted to accept the challenge of Puṣyamitra's supremacy. If the evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is to be accepted, then the Yavana king, whose name is not mentioned, but probably Menander, was defeated on the banks of Kālīsindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, and not the Great Indus, as assumed by certain scholars.

The rest of the history of the house of Euthydemus is not at all important, and only the names of the kings can be enumerated[2]-namely Agathocleia—the mother and Regent ruling on behalf of Strato I and the latter ruling independently afterwards, and then conjointly with his grandson Strato II, whose date is fixed by Tarn in 100 B. C.[3] The encroachments by the house of Eucratides were making the position of these rulers rather uneasy, but worse still were the Śakas who were responsible for the complete overthrow of the Yavana power in eastern Punjab. Coins of Agathocleia and Strato,[4] and others of Strato alone, and some times found restruck with the type of Heliocles[5] bearing the reverse type 'Victory', suggest further transference of the dominions belonging to the house of Euthydemus to that of Eucratides, and, thus, fully testify to the continuation of the conflict between the two groups of Yavana rulers.

The House of Eucratides :

The *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* makes it clear that the Yavanas had to retreat consequent to the civil strife at home. The hero of this struggle Eucratides, who deposed Demetrius in C. 175

1. *Legende d' Aśoka* p. 167.
2. Gardner. *Catal. Greek. Ind. Coins- p. 40 f,*
3. Op. cit. p. 226.
4. Gardner-Op. cit. pl. VII. 25.
5. Ibid., pl. VII. 35.

B. C., invaded the countries to the south of the Hindu Kush, and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house, their dominions in the Kabul Valley, in Ariana (Arachosia and Aria) and in North-west India sometime before 162 B. C.[1] This ruler did not meet with success, as he was deprived of his possessions in Ariana by Mittradates I, and shortly afterwards was slain by his son Heliocles in C. 155 B. C. The history of this house may be traced in coins, and in the Besnagar inscription. The Yavana house ceased to rule in Bactria after him, and his successors had to satisfy themselves with their Indian possessions only.

Antialkidas of this dynasty, whose name appears in the Besnagar record,[2] established diplomatic relations with the Śuṅga King of Vidisā through Heliodorus, his ambassador. This inscription, thus, helps in fixing the probable date of this Greek ruler of Taxila. Numismatic evidence shows that after the reign of Archebius, the region of Taxila passed from the Yavanas to the Śakas.[3] The Taxila Copper Plate inscription[4] refers to the conquest of the city by the first Śaka King Maues who was reigning there in the year 78 of an undated era. The Śaka conquest bifurcated the Yavana dominions, and the territory occupied by this ruler served as a buffer state. The house of Eucratides was confined to the south of the Hindu-Kush.

Śakas :

The reference to the Śakas in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* along with the Yavanas suggest that they had been living in Āryan settlements, though outside Āryāvarta. This evidently refers to their settlements in India along with the Yavanas. D. R. Bhandarkar,[5] discussing this subject, has pointed out that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper

1. Tarn. Op. cit.
2. Luders List No. 669.
3. C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 559.
4. C. I. I. Vol. II. pt. I. p. 23 f.
5. Op. cit.

then certainly in North-western India. He has put Vonones and his successors in practically the same period as the Bactrian Greeks, in the light of the above passage from the *Mahābhāṣya.* The migration of the Sakas, consequent to the general condition of unrest caused by the turbulent Hūṇas, has been fixed by him in C. 175 B. C. As suggested by Rapson, the Śakas passed through Ariana, Drangiana, and Arachosia and reached India by the Bolan Pass. The date of the Taxlia inscription of Moga (Maues) is supposed by Bhandarkar to be in an era started by Vonones. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that the advent of the Śaka power might very well be placed between 184 and 148 B. C., when Patañjali lived and wrote. The Bhāṣyakāra, probably, refers to the Śakas in general, and the expression might be interpreted as referring to the Śakas of Seistan. According to Tarn,[1] the old Śaka era in which the inscription of Moga is dated commenced about 155 B. C. In answer to a question, referring to the independence of the Śakas and their instituting an era, but failing to issue coins at an early period, Dr. Tarn points out that the Śakas depended on getting control of a Greek mint, or anyhow a Greek city. The association of the Śakas with the Greeks, therefore, seems to have taken place at the time when Patañjali wrote his *Mahābhāṣya.* In an article, published a few years back, D. R. Bhandarkar[2] placed Vonones as the first ruler, followed by Azes, Azilises, Azes II and then Maues, and, if his interpretation be accepted, then this dynasty should be placed earlier than is generally accepted.

Some of the Tribes :

Amongst the tribes, which had assumed political importance in that period, were the Yaudheyas, essentially a tribe of the Punjab, which was fairly important even in early times. These people were known to Pāṇini, as a republican tribe of the Punjab which, along with the Trigartas.[3] (according to Scholiast) are referred

1. Op. cit. p. 502.
2. I. C. Vol. VII. pt. II. p. 209 f.
3. IV. I. 178.

to as forming an '*Ayuddha-jīvī-saṁgha*', or a tribal Republican organization depending mainly on arms. Unfortunately, Patañjali does not mention them. The findspots of the Yaudheya coins[1] suggest the extent of their territory, while the reference to their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman[2] evidently point out their existence in the second century A. D., as a Republican clan. According to Allan,[3] the coins of the Yaudheyas fall into three periods, classes 1, 2 and 5 of the late second and first centuries B. C. indicate a period of independence from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kuṣāṇas to power. Classes 3 and 4 belong to the late second century ; and the poor state of currency reflects the disastrous effects of Rudradāman's victory consequent to, and the war with the Śakas. The five coins of class 6 reveal strong Kuṣāṇa influence, indicating the well-established position of the tribe again in the third century A. D. As we are here concerned only with the Political history up to the beginning of the Christian era, we have to confine ourselves to the first phase of their history. Allan referred to a coin bearing the legend *trakata-janapadasa* 'of the tribe of Trigarta' in Brāhmī characters of probably the first half of the second century B. C. In his view, the Trigarta country corresponded to the modern Jullandhar, the land between the Rāvī and the Sutlej.

The Ārjunāyanas, though not mentioned by Patañjali or by Pāṇini, are placed in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*[4] along with the Yaudheyas in the Northern division of India. Here again, one has to take the numismatic evidence into consideration with a view to suggesting the existence of this kingdom in the second and the first century B. C. The coins bearing the name of Ārjunāyanas are very rare, though known in several varieties. The legend *Ā(r)junāyanānāṁ jaya* (-) - 'victory of the Ārjunāyanas', is similar to the legend on the coins of the Yaudheyas.

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1. Allan - Op. cit. p. 269 f.
2. E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 36 f.
3. Allan - Op. cit. p. cxxxix.
4. XIV. 25; I. A. Vol. XXII. p. 173.

The epigraphy of the coin legends suggests a date about 100 B. C. and the land of the Ārjunāyanas, probably lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra. The association of these two tribes is also apparent from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[1]

The Audumbaras issued several types of coins the earliest being found in large number at Irippal in the Kāṅgrā district of the Punjab, and free from foreign influence. The names of the four kings found on these pieces are : Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dharaghoṣa and the epigraphy points to the first century B. C. A rare coin of Dharaghoṣa is modelled on the Graeco-Indian hemidrachm, and may be dated in the middle of the first century B. C ; Mahādeva's existence as a ruler is not doubted despite the use of this word as a regal title on the coins of the four rulers mentioned above; and so also of Rudravarman. Coins of three Mitra kings-Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra were found in the Hoshiarpur district of the East Punjab and are dated in the first century B. C. or A. D. The Audumbaras are located in the area formed by the eastern part of modern Kāṅgrā, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts between the Upper Sutlej and Rāvī.

Āndhras or the early Śātavāhanas :

According to the Purāṇas after the Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇvāyana, the earth was to pass to the Āndhras. The Āndhra Simukha with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyana and destroy the remains of the Śuṅga's power, and will obtain this earth.[2] Before dipping into the history of the earlier kings of this dynasty, it may be desirable to consider the place with which they were originally associated. Śrīnīvas Aiyangar suggested[3] that the Āndhras were associated with the Telugu country only at a later date, as they are assigned to the Vindhya region in the

1. C. I I. Vol. III. p. 14.
2. Pargiter—Op. cit. p. 35 f.
3. I.A. 1913, p. 276 f.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and in the inscriptions of Aśoka, as well as in the *Harṣacarita*. The finds of the early Āndhra coins in the western part of India, and a reference to them in the inscription of Khāravela suggest their rule in the South-west, rather than in the Āndhra region. V. S. Sukhthankar[1], editing an inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi, 'king of the Śātavahānas', identified a place called Satavāhamahara with one of the same name occurring in the Hira-Hadagalli Copper plate insciiption, though in a slightly altered form (Sataham-rattha), and assigned Bellary district, as the original home of the Śātavāhanas. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2], they are placed where one notices them in later times, and this is confirmed by Varāhamihira[3] and Hiuen-Tsang.[4] According to Mr. Bose,[5] the ancient Āndhras lived in the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā rivers on the eastern sea coast of India. It is proposed by Dr. Raychaudhary,[6] that the name Āndhra probably was meant for the Śātavāhana kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and remained a purely Āndhra power, governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛṣṇā. Dr. Barnett[7] locates the original home of the Āndhras in the Telingana district along the eastern coast between the deltas of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, to-gether with as much of the Circars as they could hold against the rival kingdoms of Kaliṅga in the north. It appears probable that the exact limit of their territory probably varied from time to time, and so also their capital.

It has been supposed by scholars that this dynasty commenced shortly after the death of Mauryan King Aśoka. According to Bose,[8] the beginning of the Āndhra rule may be fixed near

1. E. I. Vol. XIV. p. 153 f.
2. IV. XLI. 12.
3. XIV. 8.
4. Beal—*Buddhist. Recs. West. World.* Vol II. p. 217 f.
5. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 11.
6. *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* 3rd. ed. p. 280.
7. C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 599.
8. Op. cit.

about 230 B.C., which would be the time of Simuka, and so the Āndhras were the contemporaries of the later Mauryas, of the Śuṅgas and even of the Kāṇvas. In suggesting this early date, he doubts the truth of the Pauranic reference to the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Āndhra king which took place in C. 28 B. C. Dr. Barnett suggests[1] that after the death of Aśoka, the Mauryan empire rapidly declined and the neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge in their ambitious designs and enlarging their boundaries. Among these was a certain person Simukha who, within the last quarter of the third century B. C. established the powerful Śātavāhana or Śātakarṇi dynasty which ruled over the Telugu country for five centuries.

The epigraphic records which we may consider here are : the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela[2], the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyaṇikā[3], and a Sāñchī record of Rājan Siri Sātakani.[4] In the first inscription, we notice in line 3 that in the second year, not (at all) bringing Sātakani into (his) thought, (*acitayitā Sātakanim*), (king Khāravela) caused multitudinous troops of horses, elephants and chariots, to move on to the western quarter, and with the aid of the army from Kaliṅga, struck terror into the city of Asaka. The second inscription mentions the names of queen Nāyaṇikā (Nāganikā) and king Siri-Sātakani. The Sāñchī inscription records a donation by the foreman of the artisans in the time of king Siri Sātakani. Bühler agreed with Cunningham in identifying this ruler with the third Āndhra king, but as regards the date and the character of this inscription, as well as of others on the Sāñchī gateway, he placed the Śātavāhanas earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of character of Aśoka's time.

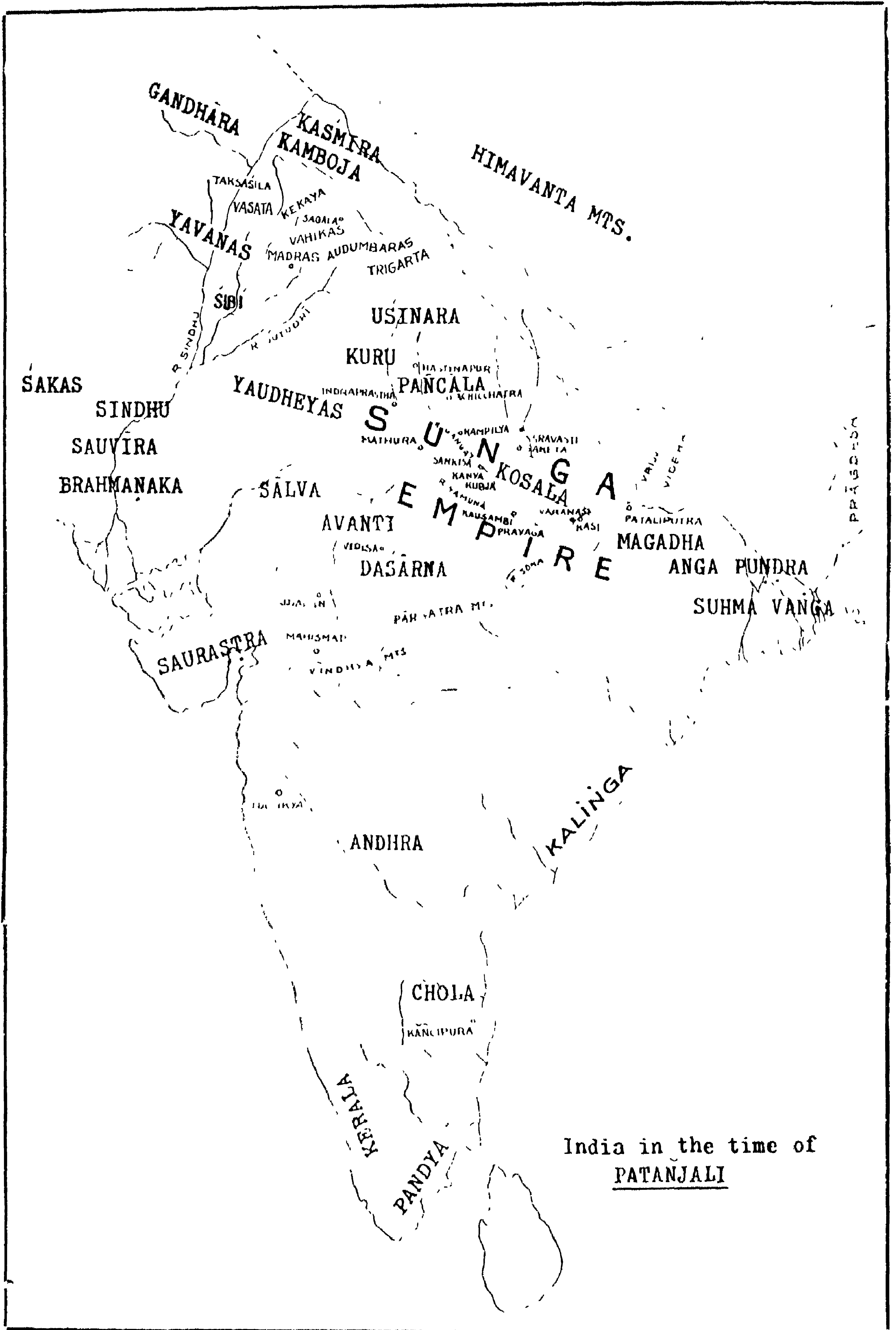
1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. *Luders List no.* 1114.
4. E. I. Vol. II, p. 88.

The consideration of the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription which must be brought down to the first century B. C., has facilitated the dating of the Āndhra rule which should begin in the first century B. C., rather than much earlier in the third as supposed by Bose. Considering the Pauranic evidence,[1] we find in the description of the dynasties of Vidisā, that after the destruction of the Śuṅgas, Śiśuanandi, his younger brother Nandiyaśas and three others would become rulers there. His daughter's son Śiśukha became King of Purikā (at some unpecified time). The name Śiśukha may have been wrongly spelt for Simukha, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. If the two could be identified, one may agree with Dr. Raychaudhari[2] that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Simukha annexed Purikā and placed Vidisā under his maternal relations. This conjecture agrees with the date of the beginning of the Āndhra rule. The defeated Śuṅga prince may have been Viśvāmitra of the Besnagar seal.[3] Śiśunandi, mentioned in the list, may be identified with Rājan Svāmin Śivanandi whose seal was found at Pawāyā.

We have considered the political history of Northern India in the second and the first centuries B. C. taking into consideration references from the *Mahābhāṣya,* and other pieces of evidence. Patañjali's reference to Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga, and the invasion of the Yavanas, evidently, suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra was not unaware of the then political condition. The revival of Brahmanism synchronised with the ascendancy of the Brahmaṇa Śuṅgas to power and the disintegration of the vast Mauryan empire in the North-west and the South-west. The North, serving for sometime as a small buffer state between the spreading tide of the Yavanas and the Āryāvarta state of the Śuṅgas, could not withstand for long and had to give way. The result was the conflict of the Yavanas with the Śuṅgas which one should suggest as a drawn struggle with indecisive results. As the Yavana power was

1. Pargiter, Op. cit. p. 49.
2. Op. cit.
3. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1915-16 p. 16.

disintegrating consequent upon the internecine struggle and the emergence of the Śakas as another important power, so also was the Śuṅga empire fast declining with the existence of small states, like Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, and Vidisā. The last one, according to Kālidāsa, had an independent Śuṅga monarch, since he is called a king whose authority was recognized by the Vidarbha cousin rulers. The Kaliṅga kingdom, which had lost ground in the time of Aśoka, also exhibited its independence, and the Hāthigumphā inscription is an evidence of the growing power of this ruler, who, it is claimed, defeated the King of Magadha. Another dynasty was that of the Āndhras which later on played a very important part in Ancient Indian History. The evidence relating to this period is rather scanty, and, as the late Professor Rapson suggested nearly thirty years ago, "in our attempt to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian History from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance", the position at present has not much improved. We have still to wait for adequate material, ere we properly reconstruct a detailed history of Northern India from the second century B. C. till the advent of the Christian era.



India in the time of PATAÑJALI

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The Geographical information, available from the *Mahābhāṣya*, is not as exhaustive as we find in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, nevertheless it is comprehensive enough to give a general idea of the country as known to Patañjali. The Bhāṣyakāra mostly refers to places in the Āryāvarta, with its well-defined boundaries, but he is not rigid in his treatment. One finds references to the settlements of the Yavanas;[1] the Janapadas of the North-west—Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra; those in the East—Aṅga, Magadha, Kaliṅga, and Prāgdeśa ; and the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas in the South. The land of the Pañcanadas, Sindhu, Sauvīra and Surāṣṭra are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[2] He also adduces additional details, and verifies a good many names mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.[3] The *Cāturarthika* Sūtras—IV. 2. 67-70 of Pāṇini, which explain the significance of names of places where a thing was found, or the place itself was founded by such and such a person or community, or if it was the dwelling-place of such and such a person or community, and lastly, the location of the place as nearer to a known object, are also considered by Patañjāli. He does not comment in detail on the *Nivāsa* and *Abhijana* Sūtras [4]formulated by Pāṇini which suggest that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling-place, or where some one's ancestors lived, as well as certain other sūtras of

1. II. 4. 10 p. 4-5
2. Ref. to be cited separately,
3. Cf. the reference to the complete list of states constituting the Sālvajanapada, IV. 1. 168 p. 269 ; those beginning with the letter *n*, and the verification of the five names in the *Rājanyādi* group IV. 2. 52 p. 282.
4. IV. 3. 89-90 p. 314.

Pāṇini (IV. 2. 130-45) which mention geographical names. This lacuna in his treatment of such names is partly made up by his reference to the ethnic distribution of particular areas under the *Viṣaya-Sūtra (viṣayodeśe)*[1] and by preserving the broad division of the Janapadas,[2] as suggested by Pāṇini—namely, Janapadas under monarchy *(ekarājā)* and tribes organized as *ayudha-jīvi-saṁgha.* In this connection, one also traces the classification of Place names, based on linguistic principles, which was earlier made by Pāṇini.

Conception of the Country:

Patañjali, no doubt, refers to the Udīcya and Prācya divisions of the country with a number of janapadas associated with those parts, but he is more particular about Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭas. Its boundaries are defined by him, as comprising the region south of the Himālayas, east of Ādarśa, and west of Kālakavana.[3] The southern limit, Pāriyātra, according to earlier investigations,[4] is the western part of the Vindhaya range extending from the source of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay, but as suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar,[5] it is that portion of the Vindhyan range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvā take their rise. The eastern and western limits are defined with some difference by the Smṛtikāras-Manu, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. Ādarśa, as the western limit, is supposed to be identical with Adarśana or Vinaśana. The *Kāśikā*[6] takes it the sense of a janapada. Vasiṣṭha[7] has referred to the limits of Āryāvarta both according to his views and that of others. He confines it to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, the west of the Black forest, the north of Pāripātra, and the south of

1. IV. 2. 52. p. 282,
2. IV. 1. 168 pp. 268 ff.
3. II.4.10. p.475. *Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam attavena pāriyātram*
4. *Asiatic Researches* Vol. VIII p. 338
5. *Early History of the Deccan.* Sec. 3 (1886)
6. IV. 2. 124. p. 381. *Ādarśakaḥ·janapīdāvadheḥ khalv api*
7. I. 8f.

the Himālaya. Buhler, translating the Smṛti, has compared[1] the boundaries of Āryāvarta, as suggested by the Smṛtikāra, with those mentioned by Patañjali. The river Sarasvatī disappears in the Patiala State, East Punjab, and the Pāripātra mountains form a part of the great Vindhaya range, probably corresponding to the hills in Malwa. The position of the Kālakavana is fairly certain, though according to N. L. Dey,[2] it should be identified with the Rajmahal hills in the Province of Bihar. H. C. Chakladhar suggests[3] that, like the other points, the one marking the eastern limit of this Āryāvarta would correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhyadeśa viz. Prayāga. He identifies Kālakavana with the Kālakārāma of the Buddhist texts[4] representing the outskirt Sāketa ; and regards the Āryāvarta of Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, as exactly coterminous with the Madhyadeśa of Manu.

As suggested earlier, Patañjali's geographical vision extends even beyond Āryāvarta. We find references to far off places in the North-west, such as, Balkh (Bāhlāyana),[5] Kamboja,[6] Kaśmīra[7] and Gandhāra,[8] and in the South Pāṇḍya, Coḍa, Keḍara and Kerala[9] countries which are not traced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The Prācya country, which, according to his comment, lay outside the sphere of the Bharatas, included Aṅga, Vaṅga[10] and Kaliṅga.[11] The Western region was also known to Patañjali, as he refers to Sindhu and Sauvīrya,[12] These references suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra possessed

1. S. B. E. Vol. XIV. p. 2.
2. *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 84
3. I. H. Q. Vol. IV p. 93 f.
4. *Ang. Nik.* ii. 24.
5. IV. 2.99 p. 292, L. 2.
6. I. 1.1. p. 9, L.26.
7. III. 2.114. p. 119, L.9.
8. IV. 2.52 p. 283, L.10.
9. IV. 1.175. p. 270, L.3.
10. IV. 1.170. p.299, Ll. 16-17.
11. III. 2.115 n. 120, L. 26
12. IV. 1.170 p. 269, L.17.

good geographical knowledge of the country. Particular mention may be made of *Sarasī*,[1] used by him to denote lakes in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. He might have visited the South, but there is no doubt about his geographical outlook extending beyond Āryāvarta despite his interest in the land associated with the Śiṣṭas.

Physical Geography:

The study of the physical geography is confined to mountains, rivers and forests. There are many references[2] in the *Mahābhāṣya* to Himavaṁt Parvata, but one also finds a comment on the glacier Himānī[3] and the melting of snow *(himasratha)*[4] referred to earlier by Pāṇini.[5] The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to a low land in the sense of a valley *(upatyakā)*, and a table-land on the upper part of a mountain *(adhityakā)*[6] in different comments. The particular mountains, besides Himavaṁt traced in the *Mahābhāṣya* are Pāriyātra[7] and Krauñca.[8] Possibly the last one may be understood as denoting a bird (pakṣī), though the name also denotes a part of the Himālaya range, situated in the eastern part of the chain to the north of Assam ; and according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[9] it is said to have been split by Kārttikeya. The formations of the names of the mountains are not alluded to in the *Mahābhāṣya*, nor is the important Sūtra - IV, 3.91, referring to the settlements of the hill tribe, commented upon by Patañjali.

Forests :

Unlike Pānini, Patañjali has not mentioned many forests. In fact there are references only to *Khāṇḍava*[10] and *Bailvavana*[11] which are

1. I. 1.19 p. 73, L.5.
2. I. 1.57 p. 150, L. 23; I. 1.72 p. 184, L. 20 etc. etc.
3. IV. 1.49 p. '20, L. 15.
4. I. 1.4 p. 51, L. 22.
5. IV. 1.49, IV. 4.29.
6. VII. 3.45 p. 325, L. 5.
7. II. 4, 10 p. 475, L. 3,
8. IV. 1.120 p, 258, L. 12.
9. 72. 47.
10. VIII. 1.4 p, 364, L. 23,
11. III. 1.1 p. 3. L. 13,

unnoticed by Pāṇini. The former, according to the *Mahābhārata*[1], was situated on a river called Aśvarathā, while in the *Padama Purāṇa*[2] it is described as lying near the banks of the Yamunā, and Indraprastha was part of it. The identification of the latter is uncertain. The Kiṣkindhaguhā is also referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya.*[3]

Rivers :

The rivers of the extreme North-west including Afghanistan, as for example, Suvāstu, mentioned by Pāṇini[4], is not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali in his comment on the Sūtra *orañ*, illustrating the use of the affix *añ* after a stem ending in *u* or *ū* in the sense of *Cāturarthika Sūtras*, mentions by way of illustration. Maśakāvati and Udumbarāvatī.[5] As regards the identification of the two rivers, it may be suggested that they might be the names of two particular portions of the river Swat which flowed near the city of Massaga. N. L. Dey identified[6] Maśakāvatī with Mazaga, or Massanagar twenty-four miles from Bajaur on the river Swat in the Yusufzai country. Earlier Rennel had identified it with the Massage of Alexander's Historians.[7] Commenting on the Sūtra *nadyām matup* (IV. 2. 85) which makes it encumbent to affix *matup* where the name of the river is to be designated by something found near it, Patañjali mentions several rivers including Udumbarāvatī and Maśakāvati. The *Harivaṁśa* mentions[8] Udumbarāvatī, along with the rivers of the South. It seems to have been associated with the Audumbaras, well-known from their coins recovered from the Kāṅgrā district of the Punjāb. It may, therefore, be identified with a small tributary joining the river Beas near Gurdaspur.[9]

1. *Vanaparva*, Chap. 169, L. 11681,
2. *Uttara*, Chap. 64,
3. VI, 1.157 p, 96, L. 17,
4. IV. 2, 77,
5. IV. 2. 71 p. 287, L. 15.
6. *Geographical Dictionary*. p. 127.
7. Ibid.
8. Chap. 8.167, L.9511.
9. *Imperial Gazeteer of India*—Atlas. Vol. XXVI.

Though Patañjali refers to *Pañcanada* which is to be taken in the sense of the country of five rivers (*pañcānāṁ nadīnāṁ samāhāraḥ pañcanadaṁ*)[1], but he mentions only Śutudrī[5], a tributary of the river Indus (Sindhu)[3] along with Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī. Other rivers, traced in the *Mahābhāṣya* are :—Ikṣumatī and Drumatī,[4] Yavamatī[5], Dāvikā[6], Gomatī[7] and Rathaspā.[8] Ikṣumatī, according to its literal meaning, was famous for sugar cane plants growing near its bed. N. L. Dey[9], citing a reference from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, identified it with the river Kālī. According to Patañjali the river Dāvikā was noted for some kind of rice growing near its bed, *(Dāvikākūlāḥ śālayaḥ)*, and it is identified by Pargiter[10] (citing some reference from the Epics), with the river Deeg, but according to Dr B. C. Law[11]—on the authority of *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I. 161.15) and supported by *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, this river flowed through the Mādra country. Rathaspā is noticed earlier in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[12], and in the Ādi Parva of the *Mahābhārata*[13] (as is the form Rathasthā). It was one of the seven sacred rivers between the Sarasvatī and Gaṇḍakī, and is identified by Dey[14] with the river Rāptī in Avadha. As regards other rivers, it is difficult to suggest any reasonable identification. It may, however, be mentioned that Patañjali was referring to the rivers of the Āryāvarta.

1. IV. 1.88 p. 239. LI. 5-6.
2. I. 2.32 p. 209. L.10.
3. I. 1.I. p. 4. LI.27. 29.
4. IV. 2.71 p. 287. L.16.
5. V. 2.94 P.394. L.6.
6. VII. 3.1 p. 316. L.4.
7. I. 1.62 p. 161. L. 13.
8. VI. 1.157 p. 96. L.17
9. Op. cit. p. 77.
10. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Biblio. Indi.) p. 292.
11. *Geog. Essays.* p. 92.
12. *Caland; Extracts.* 204.
13. Chap. 170. L.6455.
14. Op. cit. p. 168.

Political Geography :

Janapadas—Patañjali's list of the janapadas or the political divisions is more exhaustive than the one given by Pāṇini, and one is not surprised to find references to kingdoms situated in the North-west, as well as in the South which are not traced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The janapadas were homogenous, political, cultural and geographical units, and were in existence from early times, as we find references to the sixteen Mahā-janapadas in the Buddhist works. They continued to exist, despite political vicissitudes which sometimes resulted in the inclusion of a minor one in the territory of the stronger neighbouring janapada, and ultimately they formed parts of the great Magadhan empire. From a geographical point of view, they may be enumerated and identified here according to the region in which they were situated.

Kamboja :

This janapada, in the extreme north-west, has been referred to by both Pāṇini[1] and Patañjali[2]. As a people, the Kambojas are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*[3]. Their connection with the Mādras, probably the *Uttara Mādras* is speculated from the reference to Kamboja Aupamanyava, pupil of Madragāra[4]. H. C. Raychaudhary[5] suggests that the Kamboja janapada lay in the region of Rajaurī or Rājapur with its boundary extending as far as Kafiristan in the west. As mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[6], a place, called Rājapura, was the home of the Kambojas.

Kaśmīra :

Its existence as a separate political unit is evident from the *Mahābhāṣya*[7] which also mentions the queen of Kaśmīra (*Kaśmīrarājñī*)[8],

1. IV. 1.175.
2. 1.1.1. p 9. L.26.
3. ii. 2.
4. *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 138.
5. *Pol, His. Anc. Ind.*-p. 105 (3rd Ed.)
6. VII. Chap. 4. 19.
7. I. 1.44 p. 109. Ll. 17. 18.
8. IV. 1.1 p. 193. L. 18.

thus suggesting that it had monarchial form of government. Its exact boundaries cannot be defined, but according to a Jātaka[1] it was included in the kingdom of Gandhāra.

Gandhāra :

Patañjali has mentioned Gāndhāra[2] and not the earlier form Gandhāra. The people of this region Gāndhāri, are mentioned as early as the period of the *Ṛigveda*[3]. According to Zimmer, their settlement was on the south bank of the Kubhā up to its confluence with the Indus, and to a certain extent to the east of the Indus itself[4]. It is now generally accepted that Gandhāra, comprised the present Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

Kekaya :

The word *Kaikeya*[5] indicates the people of the Kekaya janapada. They were famous during the period of the Epics, and their territory lay, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[6] beyond the river Vipāsā (Beas), and extended up to the borders of ancient Gandhāra. The present districts of Jhelum, Shahpur and Gujrāt may correspond to the ancient Kekaya janapada.

Sālva[7] *:*

This country was ancient and vast. The people of this place are mentioned in the *Śatapātha Brāhmaṇa*[8]. A later reference from the *Mahābhārata*[9] suggests their connection with the Kuru-Pañcālas on the banks of the Yamunā. The Udumbaras and

1. No. 406.
2. IV. 2.52 p. 282. L. 10.
3. I. 26.7.
4. *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 219.
5. 1.1.57 p. 149. L. 8.
6. II. 68. 19-22.
7. IV. 2.133 p. 300, L. 10.
8. X. 4.1.10.
9. VI. Chap. 9. L. 346.

Bodhas, referred to by Patañjali[1], belonged to the Kṣatriya gotra and are included in the Sālva group in the *Kāśikā*[2]. According to Pargiter[3], the Śālveyas, originally connected with the Sālvas, are to be placed to the west of the Arāvalī hills.

Udumbara :

The people of this place are mentioned along with the Baudhis by Patañjali[4]; and according to the *Kāśikā*, both belonged to the Sālva group. The finds of the Audumbara coins in the Kāngrā and Hoshiarpur districts[5] settles their territory.

Bodha :

The residents of this country belonged to the Sālva group, and are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[6]. They are to be located somewhere in the eastern districts of the Punjab.

Dārvya[7] *:*

Auriel Stein[8] placed their country between the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Chandrabhāga (Chenab). Pargiter[9], however, considers them as northerners generally associated with the Trigartas and Daradas and other tribes in the North-east Punjab.

Vasāta :

Patañjali mentions[10] them in close association with Gandhāra and Śivi, thereby suggesting that it was probably a Janapada between the two States. The *Mahābhārata*[11] refers to the king of

1. II. 4.58. p. 489. L. 3.
2. p. 136.
3. J. R. A. S. 1908. p 325.
4. II. 4.58 p. 489. LL. 3-4.
5. Allan—Op. cit. p. L. xxxiii.
6. *Sabhā*. XIII. 590.
7. IV. 1.70 p. 269. L. 17.
8. *Rājataranginī*- Vol. I. p. 32; II. p. 432.
9. Op. cit. 55. p. 324.
10. IV. 2.52 p. 282. L. 17.
11. VII. Chap. 49. 1934.

Vasātis who was killed by Abhimanyu. McCrindle, on the authority of Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, placed it between the Indus and the Jhelum.[1]

Ātmakāmeyaka :

They are mentioned by Patañjali[2] as a people, but it is difficult to identify them.

Sindhu :

The name of the famous river was also the appellation of a political unit[3], and it formed a satrapy of the Achaemenian emperor Darius.[4] Sindhudeśa comprised the upper Indus.

Sauvīra :

Sindhu and Sauvīra are generally associated together, both in inscriptions and in literature[5]. According to Rapson,[6] the two parts of the compound word Sindhu-Sauvīra are often used separately, as names having nearly the same meaning, and he identified it with the modern province of Sindh. The late Dr. Johnston in a note on 'Demetrius in Sindh' pointed out that it was quite clear from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, ii.30.32-3, that Sindhu and Sauvīra were different countries. They occupied much of the Indus valley from the sea-coast upwards. The Jūnāgaḍh inscription of a later period makes it clear that the two political units were distinct and separate from each other. According to a Jātaka[7], Roruka or Roruva, identified with the modern Rori or Alor, was the capital of this Janapada.

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1. *The Invasion of Alexander*. p. 150 n.
2. IV. 2.52 p. 202. L. 16.
3. VII. 1.39 p. 257. L. 2.
4. cf C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 334.
5. E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 36. cf; *Māhābh*. VI, Chap. 9, L. 361.
6. *Ancient India*. p. 168.
7. Vol. III. p. 280. (Engl. Trans.)

Vāhīka[1] :

It is distinguished by Patañjali from Vāhikagrāma[2], though the latter was included in the Vāhika country. It may be identified with Bāhīka, referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] as the people of the west, and according to the *Mahābhārata*,[4] it denoted the people of the Punjab and the Indus. The Bāhīkas[5], synonymous with *Vāhīka*, were different from the Vāhlīkas or Vālhīkas, and according to the *Karṇaparva*, they lived between the Sutlej and the Indus, with their capital at Śākala, mentioned by Patañjali as Vāhikagrāma, and were also known as Jarttikās and Āraṭṭas[6]. Pāṇini has mentioned Vāhīka villages, and those situated in Uśīnara[7] which, according to Pargiter[8], were confined to the Punjab.

Mādras[9] :

The Madra janapāda, according to the *Mahābhārata*[10], was included in the Vāhīka country with its territory round about Śākala or Sialkot, They seem to have held the central portion of the Punjab[11], and occupied the district of Sialkot between the rivers Chenab and Rāvī[12], or between Jhelum and Rāvī[13]. In later times, they are associated with the Yaudheyas, as is evident from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Unfortunately their coins have not been found so far.

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1. I. 1.15 p. 71, L. 19.
2. IV. 2.104 p. 293. L. 20.
3. I. 7.38.
4. VIII. Chap. 43. 2030.
5. IV. 1.85 p. 236, LL, 2,022.
6. Chap. 44, 2032-2033.
7. IV. 2. 117-118.
8. *Ancient Indian Historical tradition*, p. 119.
9. IV 3.100 p. 314, L. 20.
10. VIII, Chap. 45. L. 2079.
11. Smith-*Early History of India* (4th Ed,) p. 302.
12. C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 549.
13. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India* (1871) p. 185.

Uśīnara[1] :

The country of the Uśīnaras formed part of the Vāhīkadeśa[2]. It is also mentioned by Pāṇini[3]. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[4] regards them as northerners. Zimmer placed them in the north-west, but according to Macdonell and Keith, there is no reason to shift the Uśīnaras farther west than the middle country[5].

Śibi :

The Śibi country, called Śaibaḥ in the *Mahābhāṣya*[6] may have been some tract in the western Punjab. Its people are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[7] along with other minor tribes; and are noted by Pāṇini[8] and also by Alexander's historians[9] when they were living between the Indus and the Akesines (Chenab). According to Professor Vogel[10], Śibipur, mentioned in a Shorkot inscription, must be the site of the capital of the Śibis. Later references suggesting their migration south-wards to Rājputānā are uncalled for here.

Ambaṣṭha :

The country is mentioned by Pāṇini[11], and its reference, according to Patañjali[12], is implied in the Sūtra IV.1.170 as the name of a Janapada under a monarchial government. As a tribe, the Ambaṣṭhas, can be traced in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[13], and they are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[14] along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas and

1. II. 41.9 p. 477, L. 15.
2. Cf, *Kāśikā* comment--*Uśīnareṣu ye Vāhīkagrāmāḥ* p. 320.
3. II. 4.20.
4. II, 9.
5. *Vedic Index* Vol, I. p. 103,
6. IV. 2.52 p. 282, L. 11.
7. VII. 18.7,
8. IV. 2.109.
9. Arrian; *Indika* V. 12.
10. E. I. Vol. XX, 1921 p. 16.
11. VIII. 3.97.
12. P. 269, L. 17.
13. VIII. 21.3.
14. VI. Chap. 20, L. 750.

Mālavakas who sided with the Kurus. It would be deviating from the main theme to consider their status in the social structure. They are the same as the Abastanoi, Sambastai, Sabaracae or Sabagrae of Alexander's historians[1], with their territory in the lower Akesines (Asiknī) river. Later geographers, like Ptolemy[2] and others, have mentioned this tribe as Amastai settled to the east of the country of the Paropamisadai.

Trigarta[3] :

This term means 'the land watered by the three rivers'- very probably the rivers Rāvī, Beas and Sutlej. The country had formed an Ayuddhā-jīvī-saṁgha along with the Yaudheyas, and according to Pāṇini[4] these people were living mainly on arms. They are also referred to in the Mahābhārat[5] as allies of the Kurus, and ultimately paying homage to Yudhiṣṭhira. The *Abhidhāna-citāmaṇi*[7] identifies Trigarta country with Jālandhara (*Jālandharās-trigarttāḥ syuḥ*). The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[6] brings this tribe in close proximity with Kaśmīra. Though the Trigartas are considered as a mountain tribe in the Purāṇas[8], Cunningham[9] identified their country with the Kāngrā Valley, situated near Jullundar between the mountains of Chambā and the upper course of the Beas.

Pāraskara :

As pointed out by Patañjali[10], it was the name of a country (*Pāraskaradeśaḥ)*. N. L. Dey correlated it with the Thala-Pārakara district in Sindh[11].

1. McCrindle, Op. cit. p. 292.
2. *Ancient Geography* (Sāstri Edition) pp. 311-2.
3. VIII. 1.15 p. 367, L. 4.
4. V. 3.116.
5. Op. cit. 123, L. 754.
6. IV. 24.
7. V. 144.
8. *Mārk*. 57. 57 *Matsya* 114.56.
9. A. S. R. Vol. XIV. p. 116.
10. VI. 1,157 p, 96. L. 16.
11. Op. cit. p. 149.

Brāhmaṇaka :

Patañjali calls it a Janapada *(Brāhmaṇako nāma janapadaḥ)*[1]. It might as well be the name of a tribe corresponding to the Brachmanoi of Arrian[2]. The country identified by Cunningham[3] with Brahmanābad in Sindh which is traced by Majumdar Śāstrī in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[4] as, *Brāhmaṇavah Janapada*. Patañjali contrasts *a-Brāhmaṇa deśa* with *a-Vṛṣala deśa*[5], the former probably indicating the country of the Sodrai, mentioned by the Greek historians[6] which may correspond to Śaudrāṇa, included in the Aiṣukāri group in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, according to the *Kāśikā*[7].

Jihnava :

It is also mentioned as a janapada by the Bhāṣyakāra. *(Jihnavo nāma janapadaḥ)*[8] along with the Ikṣvāku Janapada in the same reference *(Ikṣvākavo nāma janapadaḥ)*. The *Bṛhat Saṁhita*[9] mentions Ikṣvāku, as a warrior tribe.

Janapadas of the Āryāvārta :

There were a good many Janapadas in the Āryāvarta which were well-known in earlier times. The most important amongst these were :—Kuru[10], Pañcāla[11] (Uttara and Pūrva), Kosala and Kāśī.[12] The identifications of all these Janapadas are certain, and their position can be defined in the light of their past history. The Kuru

1. IV. 2.104 p. 298. L. 21.
2. *Indika*. VI. 16.
3. Op. cit. p. 269.
4. *Ancient Geogvaphy (Śāstrī Edition)* p. 691.
5. I. 4.1 p, 301. L. 8,
6. McCrindle. Op. cit. p. 292,
7. P. 305.
8. IV. 2.104 p. 298. Ll. 12. 14.
9. V, 75.
10. I. 4.51 p. 336. L, 5.
11. IV. 3.155 p. 324. Ll. 18-19.
12. IV. 1.54 p. 223. L. 13.

country extended from Kurukṣetra up the river Gaṅgā with its capital at Hastināpura, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya.*[1] The Pañcalas who had divided themselves into two—the northern and the eastern ones, are traced in Vedic times[2] when they formed one composite group or Janapada; but from the period of the Epics onwards, we find two Pañcālas—the northern and southern ones. The former, according to a Jātaka story[3] was founded by a Ceti Prince. The story of the division is told differently in the *Mahābhārata,*[4] and it was made consequent upon the defeat of Drupada at the hands of Droṇa. The south-Paeñāla included the territory to the east and south-east of the Kurus and the Śūrasenas, while the north-Pañcāla comprised the districts lying east of the river Gaṅgā and north-west of Avadha.[5] According to Cunningham,[6] the extent of the great kingdom of Pañcāla was confined from the Himālaya mountains to the river Chambal. There is no reference to their respective capitals, but the Bhāṣyakara has mentioned[7] Ahicchatra along with Kānyakubja, and Sāṁkiśa which was at a distance of 4 Yojanas from Gavīdhumata *(Gavīdhumataḥ Sāṁkāśyaṁ catvāri yojanāni)*[8] which is identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district of the United Provinces (Uttara Pradeśa)[9]

Kosala and Kāśī :

Kosala, mentioned by Pāṇini,[10] is also traced in the *Mahābhāṣya* along with Kāśī, and its probable capital Sāketa in mentioned

1. II, 1.16 p. 380, L. 18.
2. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 468.
3. Vol. III. pp. 460-1.
4. *Ādi Parvā*, Chap. 140.
5. Rapson : *Ancient India*, p. 167.
6. Op, cit. p. 360,
7. IV. 1.79 p. 233, L. 6.
8. II. 3.28 p. 455, L. 17.
9. E.I. Vol. I. p. 129.
10. IV. 1.171.

by Patañjali.[1] Vārāṇasī, capital of Kāśī was situated on the river Gaṅgā *(anugangām Vārāṇasī)*.[2]

Magadha :

It is mentioned as a Janapada with a king *(Magadhānām Rājan)*.[3] It comprised the country south of the Gaṅgā, corresponding to modern South-Bihar with Pāṭaliputra as its capital, situated on the river Son *(anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputarm)*.[4] It is needless to mention its long history.

Videha[5] *and Vṛji* :[6]

Vṛji, in earlier times, formed a Janapada consisting of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and the Janakas of Videha[7] corresponding to modern Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts in North Bihar. Patañjali mentions them separately. The Vṛjis, like the Kurus, had the government of a family *(Kuru gārhapatam; Vṛji gārhapatam)*, but the Videhas are mentioned in the list of Kṣatriyas.

Aṅga and Vaṅga :[8]

These two Janapadas are bracketed together. The Aṅga country was well-known in the time of the Buddha and it comprised the present districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.[9] There is no reference to its capital Champā. Vaṅga really corresponds to Western and Central Bengal, and, according to Pargiter,[10] it must have

1. I. 3.35 p. 281, L. 14.
2. Op. cit.
3. II. 1.2 p. 375, L. 8.
4. II. I.16 p. 380, L. 18.
5. IV. 1.168 p.268, L. 22.
6. VI. 2.42 p.126, L.4.
7. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 25.
8. IV. 1.170 p. 269, Ll. 16-17.
9. B. C. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p, 6.
10. J. A. S. B. 1895, p. 85.

comprised the modern districts of Murshidābad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rājshāhi, Pabnā and Faridpur

Puṇḍra and Suhma :

Patañjali[1] associates these two with the Vaṅga Janapada. Pargiter distinguished[2] Puṇḍra from Pauṇḍra, and the former comprised the districts of Maldā, a portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kośī, and part of Dinājpur and Rājshāhi districts. The Pundras alone are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[3] and in the *Sūtras*.[4] The Damodarpur Copper Plate inscriptions,[5] found in the Dinājshāhi district, have facilitated the identification. As regards Siṁha, Dey,[6] citing Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, identified it with Rāḍhā, and the districts of Hoogly and Burdwan. This janapada is mentioned in the *Purāṇas*,[7] and seems to have been named after Siṁha, a son of Bali.[8]

Kaliṅga :[9]

Cunningham[10] defined its position as lying between the Godāvarī in the South-west and the Gaoliyā branch of the Irāvatī river in the North-west. Rapson[11] placed this Janapada between the Mahānadī and the Godavarī. During the period of the *Mahābhārata*, Orissa was probably included in Kaliṅga with its northern boundary extending as far as Vaitaraṇī,[12] but later on Utkala or Orissa formed a separate unit, as we find in the *Purāṇas*.[13]

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1. IV. 2.52 p. 282, L. 8,
2. Op. cit.
3. VII. 18.
4. *Baudhāyana* I. 2. 14.
5. E. I, Vol, XV, p. 138 f,
6. Op. cit. p. 195.
7. *Kali*, Chap, 14 *Matsya*, Chap, 113,
8. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Pt. IV. Chap. 18.
9. III. 2,115 p. 120. L. 26
10. Op. cit. p. 117.
11. Op. cit. p. 164.
12. III. Chap. 114, L. 10998.
13. *Brahm Purāna* Chap. 43.

Prāgdeśa :

There is a reference to Prāgdeśa[1] which, if identified with Prāgjyotiṣa, might correspond to the capital of Assam or Kāmarūpa.

Avanti-Kunti :

The two names are associated together.[2] Avanti was famous as a Janapada under Pradyota, with Ujjayinī as its capital in the time of the Buddha. Kunti was probably a neighbouring Janapada, as it is associated with Avanti. It is mentioned a number of times in the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

Surāṣṭra :

According to the *Kāśikā*,[5] Kunti and Surāṣṭra were in close proximity to each other. It corresponds with the Syrastrene of Ptolemy, and is identified with the Peninsula of Kathiawar or Gujrāt.[6] It certainly lay outside Āryāvarta.

Vidarbha[7] :

The Vidarbhas were an ancient people, and their country is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*[8]. Bhīma Vaidarbha is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata*[9] describes it as an ancient and renowned kingdom in the Deccan with Kuṇḍina (modern Kauṇḍinyapur-Amraoti) on the banks of the Varadā as its capital. According to Pargiter[10], it comprised the valley of the

1. VII 1.96 p. 274, L.17 .
2. IV. 1.14 p. 206, L. 4.
3. II. Chap. 14, L. 590 etc.
4. I. 1.1 p.9, L. 26.
5. p. 548.
6. Cf. Dey: Op. cit. p. 183.
7. IV, 1.68 p. 268, L. 22.
8. II. 440.
9. III. Chap. 60 L. 2290.
10. *Mārk, Purāṇā* (Trans.) p. 335n.

Payoṣṇī, modern Pūrṇā and the middle portion of Tāptī, and corresponded to the western part of the modern Berar and the valley-country west of that. Cunningham included[1] Bhopal and Bhilsā to the north of the Narmadā in this kingdom. In the time of Patañjali the kingdom had recognized the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas of Vidisā, and it was divided amongst the two cousins, with the river Varadā as the demarcation line.

Southern Janapadas :

The Southern Janapadas, as mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* are—Coḍa, Kaḍera, Kerala[2] and Pāṇḍya[3]. Coḍa or Cola, corresponding to Coromondal coast, was bounded in the north by the river Pennar, in the south by Panākinī river to the west by Coorg and included the territory of Tanjore from Nellore to Pudukoṭṭa.[4] The Keralas were on the Malābar coast comprising, besides Malabar, Travancore, and Kanara terminating at Cape Comorin in the South[5]. The Pāṇḍyas occupied the Tinnevelly and Madurā districts[6]. As regards the Kaḍeras, their association with the people of the south can hardly be denied, but the location is doubtful.

Besides these Janapadas, there are a few more names, mentioned by Patañjali, some of which can be identified. There is a casual reference to *Daśārṇa*[7], but it is not specified as a Janapada. It is nothing strange if Patañjali was aware of it which, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] and the *Purāṇas*[9], is grouped with the Mālavas, Utkalas and Mekhalas in the Vindhyan tract. Its capital was

1. *Bhilsā Topes* p. 383.
2. IV. 1.175 p. 270, Ll. 3-4.
3. IV. 1.168 p. 269, L. 13.
4. Cf. *Mahābhārata* III. 1988, Pargiter Op. cit. p. 332.
5. *Harivaṁśa* 782, 12838; Pargiter, ibid.,
6. Dey: Op. cit. p. 247; Cf. *Mahābhārata* II. 1174.
7. VI. 1.89 p. 69, L.
8. *Kiṣkindhya*-41, 8-10.
9. *Matsya*, Chap. 114.

Vidisā (modern Bhilsā), on the Vetravatī (Betwā), according to Kālidāsa[1]. This Daśārṇa might be different from the one mentioned in earlier sources. Dr. B. C. Law distinguished[2] the two and identified the earlier one with the Dosarene of the Periplus. According to Wilson[3], eastern or south-eastern Daśārṇa formed part of the Chattisgarh district in the Central Provinces, including the old native State of Patnā.

Towns and Villages :

The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to big cities (nagara), villages *(grāma)*, and stations of herdsmen *(ghoṣa)*. The village sometimes included bigger units, as for instance, the reference to the *Vāhīka-grāma* and *Udīcyagrāma*[4]. The distinction between a *grāma* and a *nagara* need not be stressed at length. Both the units represent dwellings of inhabitants, and in fact reference to *grāma* implies *nagara* also. Thus the usage of not eating the village cock *(abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuta)*[5] also applies to a city *(nagara-kukkuṭa)*, and the best course is to adopt a common sense view in distinguishing the two. The place-endings of names of cities and villages, as one finds in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, are not traced in the *Mahābhāṣya* in which one finds only the names of some of the important cities. Patañjali has cared to mention even the distances from one place to the other, but with reference to villages, only the Vahīkagrāmas find a prominent place in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The most important cities noted by Patañjali, which can be easily identified, are : Takṣaśila[6] in the extreme north-west, Mathurā[7], Pāṭaliputra[8], Sāṁkāśa[9], Sāketa[10],

1. *Meghadūta;* I. 23-24.
2. *Ancient Indian tribes* (Poona Ed.) p. 375.
3. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Vol. II. p. 260.
4. IV. 2.104 p. 293, L.9 .
5. I.1.1 p. 4 L. 17.
6. I. 3.10 p. 268, L. 12.
7. II. 4.7 p. 474,
8. Ibid.
9. I. 3.11 p. 273, L. 13.
10. I. 3.25 p. 281, L. 14.

Vārāṇasī[1], Kauśāmbi[2], Hastināpura[3] (22 miles north-east of Meerut, and to the south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Gaṅgā), Gavīdhumata[4] which was four Yojanas from Sāṁkiśa and identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district, Ahicchatra in the Bareilly district, and Kānyakubja[5] (modern Kanauj) in the Uttara Pradeśa. The western cities noted by the Bhāṣyakāra are : Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain), Māhiṣmatī[6] (on the right bank of Narmāda—40 miles to the south of Indore, at one time capital of Avanti—Dakṣiṇāpatha), Nāśikya[7] and Kāñcīpur in the South[8]. There are a few other names of cities but they are unidentified, as for instance, Alambuṣa[9], Śaurya[10] and Āṣṭaka[11].

Villages :

It is really difficult to identify the villages mentioned by Patañjali, though they were mostly located in the land of the Vāhīkas (Vāhīkadeśa). These village names included: Ārāta, Kāstīra, Dāsarūpya, Sakala, Sausuka[12], Pātānprastha, Nāndīpura, Kaukkudīvaha[13]. The villages of the north *(Udīcyagrāma)* included : Caṇārarūpya, Māṇirūpya, Śivapur, Vāḍavakarsīya, Nilīnaka and Aulika[14]. A few unattached villages are Ketavatā[15] and Tisṛkā[16]. It appears that

1. II, 1.16 p. 380, L. 18.
2. II. 1.1 p. 371, L. 22.
3. II. 1.16 p. 380, L. 18.
4. II. 3,28 p. 456, L. 4.
5. IV. 1,79 p. 233, L. 7.
6. III. 1.26 p. 35, L. 10.
7. VI. 1.63 p. 42, L. 4.
8. IV. 2.104 p. 298, L. 4,
9. I. 1.1 p, 14, L. 14,
10. I. 1,57 p. 150 L. 23,
11. IV. 2.104 p, 298, L. 24.
12. IV, 2,104 pp. 293-4.
13. Ibid,, p. 298.
14. Ibid., p. 293.
15. II. 4.7 p. 474, L. 10.
16. VII. 2. 99 p. 307, L. 19.

here Patañjali uses the term *grāma* in a comprehensive sense. People, coming from the same village, were known to each other as *samānagrāmika*[1].

Patañjali refers to distances and directions, as anyone with a fair knowledge of geography would do. In the case of distance from Ujjayinī to Māhiṣmatī, he refers to the speed in covering it *(Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām Sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate sūryam udgamayati*[2]*)*.

A study of the data, as one finds in the *Mahābhāṣya*, suggests that Patañjali was more familiar with the geography of Āryāvarta proper, but was not deficient in his knowledge about southern India. The list of Janapadas is representative in character, and not confined to Āryāvarta alone. He is equally particular about the cities, and a good many Vāhīka villages, as well as those in the extreme north-west are mentioned by him. The *Mahābhāṣya* is, thus a fruitful source of study for the geographical information furnished by it.

1. IV, 3,60 p. 310. L. 6.
2. III. 1.26, p. 35, L. 10.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Patañjali presents, on the whole, a faithful picture of the contemporary social life of his time. The influx of foreigners, their assimilation into the social scheme, and the relaxation of caste rules owing to mixed unions, did not take the Bhāṣyakāra by surprise. Noticing the unorthodox trend, he probably felt the need to preserve purity in Brāhmaṇas so that they could justify their high social standing both by birth, and by intellectual eminence. This motive was mainly responsible for his monumental work in which he stresses, in the 'Introduction', the necessity of a good grounding in grammar for the Śiṣṭas. Grammar is the key to learning and enlightenment and, thus, the best preservative of the moral and cultural integrity of the Śiṣṭas. A close study of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the cultural stand point unfolds interesting details about social life : as for example, Division of society into groups, Family life, Food, Household effects, Dress and Ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social evils, Festivals, and other miscellaneous subjects of interest. The inferences drawn from the data may be inconclusive for want of corroboration, except occasionally from the Bhārhut and Sāñchī sculptures but the correctness of the facts derived from this literary work may be accepted. Here it is worth while considering the Smṛtis, particularly Manu's, with a view to assessing the position of some social groups, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Such a sociological study claims priority.

Division of Society :

Society was, no doubt, divided into the usual four classes. but

mixed marriages, whether among the higher or lower groups, had resulted in the creation of some new castes. A complete list of progeny from such mixed unions is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but some terms used by the Bhāṣyakāra in this connection are also traced in the *Manusmṛti*, and the *Mahābhārata*. Bright in facial complexion (gaura), pure in conduct (śucyācāra), of a reddish brown colour (piṅgala) and with red hair, possibly dyed (kapilakeśa),[1] the Brāhmaṇas were noted for the qualities which befitted them to perform suitable karmas (*tapaḥ śrutaṁ ca yoniś cety etad Brāhmaṇakārakam*).[2] Taking food while walking (*gacchan bhakṣyati*), and voiding in a standing posture were undignified actions for them (*a-Brāhmaṇo 'yaṁ yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati*).[3] In the social organism, they occupied the foremost place (*loke 'miṣām Brāhmaṇāṁ pūrvam ānayeti yaḥ sarva-pūrvaḥ sa ānīyate*).[4] Where a Brāhmaṇa failed in his literary and spritual attainments, birth alone entitled him a place in his social group (*tapaḥśrutābhyāṁ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ*).[5] Such persons had degraded themselves by adopting low professions, as for instance, the Brāhmaṇas cleaving wood (*kāṣṭhabhid Brāhmāṇaḥ*).[6]

The warrior class (*Kṣatriyas—Senānīkula*),[7] Vaiśyas and Śūdras enjoyed the usual position in society, but members of some other groups presented a strange phenomenon. These included : *Vṛṣalaṣ*[8] *Varuḍas*,[9] *Ugras*,[10] *Niṣādas*,[11] *Caṇḍālas*[12] and *Mṛtapas*[13]. Some of these

1. II. 2.6 p. 411. L. 18.
2. Ibid. L L. 16 17.
3. Ibid. L,22.
4. VI. 2.36 p. 125. L,25.
5. V. 1. 115 p. 363, L. 15.
6. III, 4.69 p. 179 L. 13.
7. I. 1. 39 p. 97, L. 16.
8. I. 1. 7 p.59, L. 18.
9. IV. 1. 97. p. 253 L. 5.
10. IV. 1. 14 p. 257. L. 15
11. V. 4. 36 p. 435. L. 8.
12. II. 4. 10 p. 475, L. 6.
13. Ibid;

are also mentioned in the Vedic literature, like the *Vṛṣala*,[1] *Cāṇḍāla*,[2] and *Niṣāda*[3]. The form Vṛṣala was used for a social outcast, but later on it implied an irreligious person (*adhārmika*),[4] as for example, in the *Mudrārākṣasa*,[5] Candragupta is called a *Vṛṣala*. The *Caṇḍāla* and *Niṣāda* are supposed to be Non-Aryans representing tribal bodies, but the two terms later on denoted despised castes whose members were engaged in very low professions. Manu named the off-spring from the union between a Śūdra father and a Brahmaṇī mother a *Caṇḍāla* (*śūdrād āyogavaḥ kṣattā caṇḍālaś ca adhamo nṛṇām*,[6]) but where the father was a Brāhmaṇa and mother a Śūdra the progeny was called *Pāraśava* (*niṣādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyām yaḥ Pāraśava ucyate*).[7] The terms *Varuḍa* and *Ugra* are used for off-spring from mixed marriages. The former belonged to one of the seven low castes called *antyaja* whose occupation, according to Manu's commentator Kullūka, was splitting canes (*veṇor bhedanena yo jīvati buruḍa iti*).[8] The *Ugra* traced his origin to a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother (*kṣatriyāc-cchūdrakanyāyām*)[9] and was noted for his cruel disposition and rude conduct (*krūravihāravān)*. The *Mṛtapa* belonged to that class of persons who looked after dead bodies, and collected deadmen's clothes, or executed criminals.[10] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is called *śmaśānādhikārin*,[11] the lord of the cremation ground. Persons belonging to these groups had an inferior position in the social setting, partly for their professions, and partly, for their lineage. The Śakas and Yavanas, living in Āryan villages

1. *RV.* X. 34. 11; cf, *Nirukta*, III 16.
2. *Vāj Sam* XXX. 21; *Tait Brāh*, III. 4. 17, 1. etc.
3. *Tait Sam.* IV. 5, 4, 2; *Vāj Sam.* XVI. 27 etc,
4. *Sanskrit—Worterbuck*, Vol. 6. p, 1342,
5. Act, I. 12.
6. X. 12, Cf, *Mah.* XIII. 2572.
7. X. 8.
8. IV, 215, (*Mandalick's* edition),
9. *Manu*. X. 9.
10. *Mah.* XIII. 2583.
11. I. 59, 8.

and hamlets outside Āryāvarata were not ostracized;[1] and they enjoyed the privilege of using a plate without polluting it. From Patañjali's comment on the Śūtra *Śūdrāṇām anirvasitānām*[2] one gets the impression that foreigners were being gradually assimilated in Indian society without merging their separate entity.

Family Circle :

The family *(kula)*[3] formed the smaller unit and its members looked after the collective interest rather than the individual one for mutual welfare. In this connection, it may be interesting to assess the status of the existing members and that of the new entrants in the family group. The familes were high and noble, like those of the regal class (*Rājakula, Rājaputrī, Rājaduhitā*),[4] or of a degraded nature (*dauṣkulyam.*)[5] There were certain families named after the teacher, or the preceptor, as for instance, *Gārgyakulaṁ, Vaidakulaṁ Āṅgakulam*[6], *Kārīṣagandhyāpatikulam,*[7] and a few more named after the position or the designation of the person, such as *Grāmaṇīkulam*[8] or *Senānīkulam.*[9] The members of this unit constituted blood kindred with varying status, as the eldest, second, and the youngest, when there were more than one son (*bahuṣu putreṣv etad upapannam bhavaty ayam me jyeṣṭhaḥ putro 'yam me madhyamo 'yam me kanīyan iti*)[10]. The family group included brother and his son *(bhrātuṣputra)*,[11] and a number of other relations (*bahavo 'bhisaṁbandhāḥ*) but the circle was not confined

1. *Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I p. 475.
2. II. 4.10 p. 475.
3. I. 1.51 p. 128, L. 9.
4. VI, 3 70 p. 161, L. 12.
5. VIII. 5.41 p. 434, L. 5.
6. II, 4,64, p. 493.
7. VI. 1,13 p. 20, L. 4,
8. I, 1.7 p. 128, L. 9.
9. I. 1.62 p. 161, L. 9.
10. I. 1.21 p. 77 L. 20,
11. I. 2.71 p. 250 L, 13,

to marital relations only (*ārthā yaunā maukhāḥ śrauvāś ca*).[1] The Gṛhapati[2] with his *bhāryā* or *patnī*, both terms being synonymous, looked after the domestic interest. The son was supposed to be the remover of sorrow (*śokāpanudaḥ putro jātaḥ*)[3], and his birth in the family was hailed with joy. The *nāmakarman* ceremony took place on the tenth day after the birth of the child (*daśamyā uttarakālaṁ putrasya jātasya nāmā bhidadhyāt*)[4]. The daughter's son (*dauhitra*) and grandson (*pautra*)[5], were fairly important persons in a family. The relations on the in-law's side included the parents-in-law (*śvaśura-śvaśrū*)[6]. The maternal and paternal aunts (*mātṛṣvasā pitṛṣvasā*)[7], the maternal uncle and aunt (his wife) (*mātula-mātulānī* or *mātulī*)[8], the grandparents on the father's and the mother's side (*pitāmaha-pitāmahī; mātāmaha-mātāmahī*)[9] were other *Yauna* relations. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not add other relations to the family group. The reference to the maternal uncle (*mātula*), Āṣāḍhasena in the Pabhosā record[10] indicates the broad nature of the family circle. The members of at least there generations, *pitāmaha*, *pitā* and *pautra* in direct line belonged to the family group, as one notices in the comment relating to the *Yuvasaṁjñā*.

Food :

The evidence adduced by Patañjali on the subject of 'Food and Drinks', is exhaustive, with vegetarian and non-vegetarian items, solid and liquid food, arrangements for meals, milk preparations, sweets, wines, and fruits, and even dinner etiquette rules.

1. I, 1,49 p. 119 L, 21.
2. IV. 4,90 p. 354, L. 16
3. III, 2.5 p, 98, L. 16,
4. I, 1.1 p. 4, L. 32.
5. IV. 1.104 p 254, L, 27.
6. I. 2.71 p. 250, L. 20.
7. IV, .1,96 p. 252, L, 21.
8. IV. 1.49 p, 220, L. 21.
9. IV. 2. 36 p, 277, LL. 17, 22.
10. E. I. Vol. II. p. 240.

Fasts were undertaken for some set purposes, like the one for propitiating the Sun *(Ādityavrata)*.[1] In the *Mahānāmnīvrata*[2] verses of that name were recited. During the period of fasting, people lived either on water *(ab-bhakṣa)* and sometimes even without it *(vāyu-bhakṣa)*.[3] The word *bhojya* denoted food fit for eating *(bhakṣya)*, whether solid *(kharaviṣada)* or liquid *(drava)*; but at one place in the *Mahābhāṣya* its use is restricted to solid food alone, as for instance, in the illustration *(guḍena saṁsṛṣṭā guḍasaṁsṛṣṭāḥ-guḍasaṁsṛṣṭā dhānā guḍadhānāḥ)*.[4] A study of the data would suggest the taste of the people, and their favourite dishes.

(a) *Types of food-Vegetarian* : A vegetarian was known as *śākubhojin*,[5] and he had to depend exclusively on grains and vegetables for his staple food, though there was a wider choice of alternatives. These included *śāli*[6] (a rice of ten varieties), *hāyana*[7] (a sort of red rice), *yava*[8] (barley), and *ṣaṣṭika*[9] (another kind of rice ripening in sixty days). Some other cereals were *yavānī*[10] (*ptychotis ajowan*), a kind of inferior barley, *gavīdhuka*[11] boiled with rice (*gavīdhuka yavāgū*), and with barley (*gavīdhukasaktavaḥ*)[12] in preparing gruel, and *tila*[13] (*sesamum indicum*). The auxiliary edibles, popularly known as pulses, included : *mudga*, *rājamāṣa*[14], and *māṣa*[15], a kind of pulse having red marks with black and grey spots. Certain

1. I. 2.54 p. 246, L. 28.
2. V, 1.94 p. 360, L, 9.
3. I. 1.1 p. 6, L. 23,
4. II. I.35 p. 387, L. 9.
5. II. 1.69 p. 406, L. 7.
6. I. 1.23 p. 82, L. 5.
7. IV. 1.27 p. 223, L. 3.
8. I. 1.1 p.·42, L. 21.
9. V. 1.93 p 360, L. 3.
10. IV. 1.49 p. 220.
11. IV. 3.136 p. 323, L. 2.
12. *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 223 and ref.
13. III. 2.28 p; 102, L. 6.
14. V 1.20, p. 345, L. 25.
15. I. 1.51 p. 127, L. 8.

stuff known as *saṁskṛtam* could be taken without any further preparation or dressing (*saṁskṛtaṁ hi nāma tad bhavati yat tad eva apakṛṣya abhy-ava-hriyate*, like, groats grounded on stone (*dārṣadaḥ saktava iti*), but barley pounded in a mortar needed extra cooking before it could be eaten (*na ca yāvaka ulūkhalād eva apakṛṣya abhyhriyate 'vaśyaṁ randhanādīni pratīkṣyāṇi*)[1]. The dressing of substances was done through different processes : *miśrīkaraṇa*-the act of mixing, seasoning an ingredient; *vyañjana*-the use of anything in cooking or preparing food: and using sauce and condiment. Failure to do so rendered the food tasteless. The two sūtras of Pāṇini-*Annena vyañjanam* and *Bhakṣeṇa miśrīkaraṇam*, considered together by Patañjali[2] give some information regarding the process of dressing articles of food before they could be served on the table. *Dadhi*-curd was used for sprinkling (*dadhyupasiktā*),[3] and tamarind sauce (*taittiḍīkam*)[4] gave flavour. *Palala*-ground sesamum, *sūpa*-pulse juice, and *śāka*-vegetables were mixed with other substances. Only *mūlaka*[5] and *alābū*[6]-the fruit of the bottle gourd mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are placed in the list of vegetables in the *Arthaśāstra*[7] and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana[8].

The favourite vegetarian food was boiled rice, called *odana*,[9] also known as *bhakta*,[10] which was sometimes cooked with meat (*māṁsaudana*).[11] It was much relished, and Patañjali has compared the heap of rice served on a plate to the mountain Vindhya

1. IV. 3. 25 p. 307 L. 8 f.
2. II. 1. 34-35 p. 286.
3. II. 1. 35 p. 387, L. 8.
4. IV. 3. 156 p. 326. L. 8.
5. IV. 1.48 p. 219, L. 20.
6. VI. 3. 61 p, 164, L 9.
7. XXIV. p. 117.
8. I. 28.
9. I. 1.1 p. 42, L. 17.
10. III. 1.26 p. 33, L. 26.
11. II. 3.13 p. 450, L. 1.

(*Vindhyo Vardhitakam iti*).[1] This staple food was used in the Vedic times,[2] and continued to be popular in the later period as well.[3] *Yavāgū* or rice-gruel, was a liquid substance, possibly licked with the fingers of the hand (*vilepi*) or mixed with water and then drunk (*peya*). It is associated with *payas*-milk, and *sūpā* meant for Brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇārthā yavāgū iti*).[4] The *Kāśikā* mentions *yavāgū* of a thin variety (*alpannā yavāgūr uṣṇika ity ucyate*),[5] and another-a scaldy one (*nakhaṁpacā yavāgū*).[6] In earlier literature[7] it is referred to as a barley gruel, but it also denoted weak decoctions of other kinds of *Jartila* and *Gavīdhuka*.[8] *Sūpa*, or thin curry, dressed with salt (*lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ*),[9] made a good combination with boiled rice (*iha ca bahur odanaḥ bahuḥ sūpa iti*).[10] A pea-soup was also prepared (*kālāya sūpa*).[11]

The vegetarian menu included many other items, some of which were meant for breakfast, or afternoon nourishment, such as, *kṛsara*[12] a mixture of sesamum and rice, with a few peas and spices added to it, and *śaktu*[13] groats mixed with molasses or *dadhi*. Sweets and sweet cakes included: *śaṣkuli*[14] made of ground rice, sugar and sesamum and cooked in oil; *pūpa*[15] or *apūpa*[16], mixed with *ghee* (*ghṛtavant*), or

1. I. 4.24 p. 327, L.
2. *RV*. VIII. 97,10; *Śat-Brāh*. II. 5, 3, 4, etc.
3. *Mil*. p. 16, L. 18; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I. p. 327, etc.
4. II. 1.36 p. 388, L. 25.
5. p. 422 (Benares Ed.)
6. p. 174.
7. *Tait Sam*. VI. 2, 5, 2.
8. Ibid., V. 4, 3, 2.
9. I. 2.51 p. 227, L. 13.
10. I. 4.21 p, 321, L. 10.
11. V. 1.19 p. 344, L. 18.
12. VIII. 3.59 p. 439, L. 12.
13. I. 1.57 p. 149, L. 11.
14. I. 1.47 p. 116, L. 23.
15. I. 1.1 p. 38, L. 5.
16. I. 2.45 p. 217, L. 13.

made of rice and barley: *piṣṭapiṇḍī*[1] a flour cake, and *palala*[2] -a kind of sweetmeat made of *guḍa*, sesamum and sugar, and cooked. The substances, used in making sweet preparations, were *madhu*[3] or honey, *guḍa*[4]-molasses produced from sugar cane juice, and *śarkarā*[5] or crystal sugar. The sweet balls popularly known as *modaka*[6] were liked by children. Certain cold drinks soothed the wearied people in summer, as for example, *guḍodaka*,[7] a thin liquid substance, being a mixture of water and molasses. *Payas*-milk and whey (*mathitaṁ*) were available from shopkeepers known as *māthitika*.[8] *Haiyaṁgavīna*[9] was clarified butter prepared from last day's milk.

(b) *Non-Vegetarian*: The non-vegetarians seem to have enjoyed both types of food, as there were some restrictions imposed by custom regarding the slaughter of animals. As Patañjali. mentions that five-five-nailed animals could be taken (*pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyā*) but not others (*anye 'bhakṣyaḥ*). The wild boar and the wild cock could be eaten, but not those from the village itself (*abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkara*).[10] A town-born boar or cock also enjoyed this privilege (*nāgaro 'pi na bhakṣyate*).[11] A glutton, fond of flesh, was known as *māṁsaśīlaḥ*.[12] There is a reference to deer being sacrificed for preparing meat rice (*māṁsaudanāya vyāharati mṛgaḥ*).[13] Raw flesh was known as *kravya*[14] and that of sheep

1. II. 1.57 p. 399, L. 24.
2. I. 1,1 p. 38, L, 6.
3. I. 1.1 p. 18. L. 19,
4. I. 4.49 p. 333, L, 3.
5. IV. 4.83 p. 334, L. 11,
6. V, 1.119 p. 366, L. 9.
7. I. 4.3 p. 310, L. 14.
8. V. 3.83 p. 425, L. 18.
9. V. 2,23 p. 375, LL, 2,5.
10. I. 1.1 p. 5, L. 16, f.
11. VII. 3.14 p. 320, L. 22.
12. III. 2.1 p. 95, L. 18.
13. II. 3.1 p. 450, L. 1.
14. III. 2.69 p. 108, L. 6

was called *avermāṁsam*.[1] The meat, having a thick membrane or omentum (*pravapāṇi māṁsāni*)[2] was, probably, relished. One who had tasted the flesh of śārṅga bird was called *śārṅgajagdhī*[3]. Onions (*palāṇḍu*)[4] were, probably, included in the non-vegetarian menu, but in literature their use is forbidden for the Kṣatriyas.[5] The fish eater was required to remove scales and small bones before eating it (*śakala-kaṇṭakān utsṛjati*).[6]

(*c*) *Fruits and Drinks* : In a lavish menu, items of dessert and sweet wines were not left out. The fruits included : *Bimba*[7] (*momordica monadelpha*) to which the lips of women are compared by poets; *dāḍima*[8], pomegranate; *mṛdvikā*[9], a kind of vine having reddish grapes, and *kuvalī*[10], the fruit of jujube-tree. These are only a few fruits mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but there were certainly other fruits as well. Different kinds of drinks, both soft and alcoholic, were enjoyed by the people. In the case of a Brāhmaṇī, religous penalty was attached to drinking, and one, so doing, incurred the risk of being deprived of the company of her husband in the next world (*yā Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati naināṁ devāḥ patiloke nayanti*).[11] Its use, however, was not unknown in a Brāhmaṇa family. The Bhāṣyakāra mentions the following types of alcoholic drinks : *surā*[12]-which was distilled from molasses, and a spirituous liquor made of rice called *prasannā* which often had oily substance in it (*bahu-tailam prasannā*),[13] and *śuṇḍā*[14], a spirituous liquor, though the

1. IV. 2.60 p. 283 L. 20.
2. VIII. 4.16 p. 458, L. 12.
3. II. 2.36 p. 437, L. 21.
4. Ibid.
5. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 409, 21.
6. I. 2.39 p. 912, L. 6.
7. I, 1.58 p. 153, L. 13.
8. I. 1.1 p. 38, L. 5.
9. VI. 3.42 p. 158, L. 16.
10. IV. 3.170 p. 323, L. 5.
11. III. 2.8 p. 99, L. 8.
12. I, 2.62 p. 242, L. 25.
13. V, 3,66 p. 421, L. 27.
14. IV. 1.52 p. 246, L. 26.

term also denoted a tavern where it was available, and its seller was known as *śuṇḍāra*[1]. One fond of it was called *śauṇḍa*[2]. *Āsuti*[3], a brew mixture, mentioned earlier by Pāṇini, was a religious drink prepared by the priest, known as *Āsutīvala*[4]. Flavour was sometimes given to these alcoholic preparations by mixing onion juice (*ayam palāṇḍunā surām pibet*)[5]. Drinking to the lees was not unknown, and there is a reference to taking a complete jar (*ghaṭiṁdhamaḥ*), and through a pipe made of reed (*nāḍiṁdhamaḥ*)[6].

Dinenr Etiquette :

Certain conventional dinner rules were observed in refined society with a view to maintaining the dignity of social relations. These included table manners, and those relating to the extending and acceptance of invitations to dinner. The servers were not expected to partake while the guests were eating (*Brāhmaṇā bhojyantām, māṭharakau ṇḍinyau pariveviṣṭām iti na idānīṁ tau bhuñjāte*[7]. Invitations were generally extended to members of one's caste (*anyo 'nyam ime Brāhmaṇa-kule bhojayataḥ*)[8]. Certain Brāhmaṇas, known as *śrāddhabhojin*, aceepted invitations to partake obsequial food; but those, who avoided such invitations, were called *a-śrāddhabhojī Brāhmaṇaḥ*[9]. There were two kinds of invitations-*nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa*. The former was extended in offering *havya*-oblation to gods, and *kavya*-oblation to mane food. It was obligatory to accept it (*evaṁ tarhi yan niyogataḥ kartavyaṁ tan nimantraṇam*), as its refusal entailed sin (*brāhmaṇena siddham bhujyatām ity ukte dharmaḥ pratyākhyātuḥ*[10]. *Āmantraṇa* was only a friendly invitation

1. V. 3.88 p. 427, L. 4.
2. II. 1.1 p. 360, L. 8.
3. VI. 4.194 p. 229, L. 23.
4. V. 2.112.
5. p. 419, L. 4.
6. III. 2.29 p. 102, L. 15, 16.
7. I. 1.2 p. 28, L. 14.
8. VIII. 1.14 p. 370, L. 19.
9. III. 2.80 p. 109, 1.19.
10. III. 1.161 p. 165, LL. 13-15.

without any obligation attached to it. A common meal was called *samāśa*[1] which, probably, implied taking food on the same table, or in the same row, as is generally the custom, on the floor: but in different plates. In certain customary feasts, the choice was limited to a particular item, as for example, the *vaṭaka* cakes were eaten on on the *vaṭakinī Paurṇamāsī*[2] day.

Household Effects :

These included several utensils used in cooking, as well as those laid on the dinner table, and others, needed for ordinary household comforts. Patañjali mentions a smaller water jar *ghaṭikā*[3] *kuṇḍikā*[4]-a still smaller vessel, popularly known as student's water pot, and *kumbha*[5]-another type of water storing vessel. The last one was big enough to store grain which could last for some time. One doing so, was known as *kumbhīdhānya* (*yasya kumbhyām eva dhānyaṁ sa kumbhīdhānyaḥ*)[6]. Other vessels included : *kuṇḍa*[7]-which was bowl shaped, as illustrated by Fergusson[8] in his work showing a woman holding a bowl in her left hand, and a *ghaṭa*-covered with a glass in her right hand; and *sthālī*[9]-a big earthen dish or pan, now known us *thālī*. There is a reference to *sthālīpiṭhara*[10] probably, a wooden stool on which the plate was placed. *Ukhā*, a boiler or cauldron, is noted by Patañjali[11] by way of comparison. There were also special jars for storing ghee (*ghṛtaghaṭa*) and oil (*tailaghaṭa*)[12]. *Śarāva*[13] was a small shallow dish or cup which

1. I. 1 50 p. 123, L. 3.
2. V. 2.82 p. 388, L. 20.
3. I. 1.1 p. 7, L. 13.
4. I. 4.44 p. 102, L. 12.
5. I. 1.58 p. 153, L. 1.
6. I. 3.7 p. 264, L. 2.
7. I. 1.1 p. 38, L. 5.
8. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. *XXXa*.
9. IV. 1.1 p. 194, L. 17.
10. I. 4.101 p. 350, L. 21.
11. IV. 1.6 p. 202, L. 13;
12. II. 1.1 p. 364, L. 18.
13. I. 1.72 p. 189, L. 24.

is mentioned in earlier literature[1], as a measure of corn, and *caru*[2] was particularly used in preparing oblation of the same name. Some of the vessels, like those for storing water, oil or *ghee*, were earthen, but copper or bronze ones were not unknown, and were used for taking rice and ghee, as well as milk, as mentioned in the famous story of an old woman asking for a boon from Indra (*bahukṣīraghṛtam odanaṁ kāṁsyapātryāṁ bhuñjīranniti*).[3] Some of these utensils-a bowl, plate or platter and a water vessel-are also noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures[4].

Other household effects included : soft chair (*mañcikā*)[5] a bedstead (*khaṭvā*)[6], and lamps (*pradīpā*)[7]-of two kinds-a standing one with a heavy base to keep it steady, and a hanging one, as shown in the Bhārhut sculptures[8]. The chairs with back and arms, or plain ones, like ordinary stools were different from those used by the noble class[9]. The bedstead was a simple oblong frame supported on four legs, called *khaṭvāpāda*[10] by Patañjali with club feet, exactly like the common bedstead of the present day.

Housing Arrangements :

The information supplied by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this topic is meagre, but the Bhārhut illustrations are helpful in this matter. The dwelling houses were of one stereotyped pattern[11], consisting of a long room with a pointed or semi-cylindrical domed roof, and a small opening for air and light on each side. B. M. Barua suggested[12]

1. *Vedic Index* Vol. II. p. 358 and ref.
2. IV. 2.7 p. 273, L. 12.
3. VIII. 2.3 p. 388, L. 12.
4. *Cunningham : Bhārhut*—Pls. XXVIII. figs. 2, 3; XL. fig. 3.
5. IV. 1.3 p. 201, L. 3.
6. Ibid., L. 25.
7. II. 1.1 p 359, L. 6.
8. Pls. XXVIII. fig. 3. XVI. fig. 3.
9. Ibid., Pls. XXV. 3 ; XXVII. 12 ; XLVIII. 2.
10. I. 2.48 p. 224, L. 16.
11. Cunningham, Op. cit, Pl. XLIII. fig. I; XLV, fig. 7.
12. *Bhārhut* Vol. III., 139 (fig. 102, 94, 43).

that the home of the common people was a mud-walled hut, provided with doors and small windows and the same pattern was used for the market shops. The abodes of hermits and ascetics were mere huts, with roofs thatched with straw and the four sides tapered to a point marked by a pinnacle[1]. The best illustration of such huts is provided by the one, fenced with a bamboo palisade, and adorned with a somewhat ornamental pinnacle[2]. Patañjali mentions *gavākṣa*[3] or round window, and *aṭṭālikā* or tower. The compound *aṭṭālikābandham*[4] has been used by him to illustrate the formation of those towers. The plastering (*kuṭṭimā*)[5] of the floor had not changed the simplicity of the houses, which were in striking contrast, at least, in size, with the palaces of which only one specimen[6], tha *vaijayanta prāsāda*, is seen in the sculptures. It is a three-storied building, divided into three perpendicular portions with an open pillared hall in the basement, and three arched openings on each section. Further details are wanting, and there is no reference to the plastering of walls *(kaṭalepana)*, partitions *(bhitti)*, separate apartments for ladies *(antaḥpura)*, and the painting of the house (*varṇitā*), as one finds in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature[7] of a later period. The Bhāṣyakāra is silent about the material used in the construction of houses. Megasthenes mentions[8] the beautiful wooden palace of the Mauryas. but the monuments of this period suggest a change from wood to stone or bricks, which may have imposed some limitations on the size and types of houses, This may be the main reason for a single pattern of houses, as one finds in the Bhārhut sculptures.

(a) Dress and Ornaments :

Evidence relating to these items is available from several

1. Ibid., fig. 131.
2. Ibid., fig. 105.
3. III. 4.156 p. 166. L. 5.
4. III. 4.41 p. 177, L. 17.
5. IV. 4.20 p. 330, L. 10.
6. Cunningham : *Bhārhut*, p. 118; pl. XVI, fig. 1.
7. *Saddh. Puṇḍ.* III. 39-50; *Lalit.* XIV. p. 186.
8. *Strabo*, XV. 1.36.

sources-the *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhārhut sculptures and the terracotta figurines of that period which have been found at many places in Northen India. The use of clothes was primarily to cover the body (*śāṭakān ācchādayāmah*)[1]. The lower garment was called *upasaṁvyāna*[2] corresponding to modern *dhoṭī*-loin cloth which was generally white *(śukla vastra)*[3]. The upper cloth for covering shoulders was called *paṭa*. Its white colour (*paṭaḥ śuklaḥ*)[4] made it distinct from the red turban (*lohito uṣṇīṣaḥ*) which was the common dress of a priest (*lohitoṣṇīṣā ṛtvijaḥ pracaranti*)[5]. Patañjali also refers to the use of cotton *(kārpāsa)*[6] and wool (*ūrṇā*)[7]. The sewing of clothes was done through a sharp needle (*tīkṣṇayā sūcyā sīvyan*)[8] The use of tunics was known even in earlier times, and the Bhārhut sculptures have a single figure of a soldier dressed in tunic with long sleeves covering the mid thigh. It is tied in two places by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double looped bow. The *dhoṭī*, as usual, covers the loins and thighs, reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds[9]. Boots were also used. Patañjali refers to leather shoes (*upānaḥ carma*), as well as wooden sandals (*upānaḥ dāru)*[10], They are also noticed in the solitary figure of a soldier at Bhārhut, reaching up to the legs, and fastened by a cord with two tassels. The lay devotees are bare-footed, as it is against the custom of the couutry to put on shoes in places of worship.

The dress of ladies consisted of a skirt, generally white in

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1. I. 1.1 p. 19, L. 4.
2. I. 1.36 p. 93, L. 12.
3. I. 1.1 l p. 67. L. 23.
4. I. 4.21 p. 321, L. 16.
5. I. 1.27 p. 86, L. 7.
6. IV. 1.55 p. 224, L. 14.
7. V. 1.3 p. 338, L. 19.
8. II. 1.2 p. 373. L. 20.
9. Cunningham; Op. cit, p. 32,
10. V. 1.2 p. 337, LL. 6-7,

colour (*śuklā śāṭī*)[1]. There is no reference to the covering of the upper part, but one can hardly doubt that *paṭa* was used. The upper parts of the figures of Yakṣiṇīs Candā and Cūlakokā are shown naked in sculptures, but in the case of the former there are perceptible marks of the folds or creases, as Cunningham pointed out[2], of a light muslin wrapper under the right breast. He thought it probable that an upper garment of a light material was intended to be shown by the sculptor, but its folds were purposely avoided, with a view to displaying different types of necklaces, collars and girdles. The head was covered by elaborately worked veils, of which specimens can be noticed in the Yakṣiṇī figures at Bhārhut[3]. The sculptor found it rather difficult to show the wrapping of the veil which covers the shoulders down to the waist, and the parallel creases, seen under the right breast, are probably intended to show that the *Chaddar*-upper covering, was wrapped round the body. Strabo also mentions[4] embroidered garments, interwoven with gold.

The dyeing of clothes was very common. Patañjali[5] has referred to the blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), green (*harit*), and brown red (*kāṣāya*) colours. Red was very popular, and the turban cloth was dyed in that colour. The substance used for dyeing was known as *śakala*, a kind of black pigment, but clay or slime ((*kardama*)[6], was well-known. A taste for the combination of colours is apparent from a reference to the white amidst the red (*dvayor raktayor vastrayor madhye śuklaṁ vastraṁ tadguṇam upa-labhyate*),[7]

(b) Ornaments :

Patañjali mentions four kinds of ornaments which could be

1. II, 2,5 p. 410, L. 21.
2. Op. cit. p. 33,
3. Op. cit. p. 33.
4. XV. 1.69.
5. IV. 2,2 p. 271, L. 10 f.
6. Ibid.
7. I. 1,29 p. 206.

made out of a lump of gold without disturbing the substance, (*ākṛtir anyā ca anyā ca bharati dravyam punas tad eva*)[1]. These are *rucaka*, *kaṭaka*. *svastika*, and *kuṇḍala*. Probably *rucaka* was a kind of gold ornament or necklace, while *kaṭaka* was a bracelet of gold or shell. The *svastika* and *kuṇḍala* were a triangular piece and an ear-ring respectively. Besides these ornaments, a few more noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures can be listed. Ornaments were not confind to ladies only, but men also used a few. Ear-rings, necklaces. armlets and bracelets were put on both, but forehead pieces like *latika* or the fastened leaf, long collars, garlands, zones or girdles and anklets were exclusively meant for ladies[2]. The *svastika* of Patañjali, was a triangular crest-jewel. The ear-rings, popularly known as, *karṇikā* or *kuṇḍala*, were of different types, as shown by Cunningham[3]. The attached pendants were given separate names, such as bell pendant, now called *jhumkā* in Hindī, but the Buddhist *triratna* was very popular. Necklace corresponding to *rucaka* of Patañjali, now called *hāra*, could be a short (*kaṇṭhabhūṣā*), or a long one (*lalāntikā*), reaching as far as the breasts. The *triratna* figured prominently in it. Armlets, used uniformly[4], were bands of gold with precious stones embedded in them. They are now known as *bāju*, and are used by ladies alone. Bracelets, corresponding to *kaṭaka* of the *Mahābhāṣya* had succession of strings and beads, either square or round in shape and their number varied.[5] Girdles were exculsively meant for ladies and there are some good specimens of this ornament in the Bhārhut sculptures.[6] Some of these have small bunches or bells sounding with the gait of the lady. Anklets and finger rings were minor ornaments. The former were either of spiral coils, or of consecutive circles of gold pieces one over the other, the upper and the lower ones being ornamented[7],

1. I. 1.1 p. 7, L. 15 f.
2. Cunningham ; Op. cit. Pl. XLIV, figs. 1-9.
3. Ibid., fig. 12.
4. Ibid., pl. XLIX, fig. 15, 16, 18, 19.
5. Ibid., p. 37.
6. Ibid., pi. Ll. fig. 3,
7. Ibid., figs. 4 and 5.

These ornaments had something more than their decorative value; they harmonised with the beauty of the body. Their use further depended on the taste of the person wearing them with a little of restraint, but not wanting in refinement. The tendency to put on too many ornaments was common among ladies; for men it was merely an attempt to show off.

Hair Arrangement :

The arrangement of hair was not so simple, as may appear, with a parting line in the middle (*sīmanta*) and the mass of hair gathered together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (*keśānāṁ samāhāraś cūḍasya keśacūḍāh*)[1]. There are also references to shaven-headed persons (*muṇḍa*), those with twisted hair (*jaṭī*), or keeping a tuft or lock of hair on the crown of the head (*śikhī*)[2]. The cutting of hair was also known (*keśānva-pati*)[3], and some also shaved their moustache (*keśaśmaśru vapati*)[4]. Patañjali has also referred to *tanukeśyaḥ striyaḥ*[5]-meaning ladies with delicate hair, or keeping bob-wig which one hardly finds in the sculptures of that period. The figures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, however, show different methods of arranging the hair. In the first type, the loose hair is allowed to fall at the back, and then the end is looped and knotted[6], or it is arranged in a top knot when the lady has a head dress[7]. In the third type, the falling hair down the back is divided into two halves, and that, too, further into tassels, and then plaited[8]. Men generally kept long hair tied in a top-knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged[9]. The

1. II. 2.24 p. 424, L. 1.
2. I. 1.2 p. 17, L. 18.
3. VI. 1.9 p. 14, L. 12.
4. I. 3.1 p. 256. L. 12.
5. VI. 3.34 p. 152, L. 27.
6. Barua: *Bhārhut*, Vol. III. pl. XXIII-top.
7. Ibid., pl. XXX. 23, left side.
8. Ibid , pl. XXXIX, 34.
9. Ibid., pl. XXX. 23.

fashion of keeping plaited hair by the ladies, coiled round the head in a top knot, is also observed in sculptures[1]. In some cases the hair is fastened by an ornament[2], The ascetics, as usual, have long hair worn round the crown in a cone-like fashion, or simply let loose, with their wavy beards[3]. Curly locks touching the neck are favourite with musicians, charioteers and soldiers[4].

A terracotta figurine of the Śuṅga period, now in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford[5], is notable for its ornamental elaboration and coiffure arrangement. The head dress of this figure is most attractive. The hair seems to be enclosed in a close fitting bonnet (or fillet?) bordered from four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels. On each side of the bonnet are two turban like roles of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left one, slightly bigger is made up of five vertical stripes with strings of beads at regular intervals; but the right one is embellished with six rows of flower ornament between which are strings of beads. There are five emblems stuck into the right side.

The arranging of hair needed oil, comb, and mirror, while collyrium sticks, unguent vases, and pots were required for the make up of the face. Patañjali mentions *candana*-sandal, *gandha*-perfume, and *añjana* or black pigment[6] applied to the eye lashes. There is no reference to the method of preparing cosmetics and their proper application. A few centuries later, Aśvaghoṣa refers to the pounding of ointments, and the application of *candana* paste with the help of a stick (*pattrāṅguli*)[7], which is also seen in a toilet scene depicted on a door jamb belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period[8], Prob-

1. Fergusson-Op. cit. pl, XXX. fig. 1; XXXII. fig. 2.
2. Ibid., pl. XXXV. fig. 2.
3. Ibid., pl. XXV. fig. 1.
4. Ibid., pl. XXXIV. fig, I. 22.
5. J. I. S. O. A. Vol, X. p. 94.f.
6. VIII. 2.48 p, 408, L. 23.
7. *Saundarananda* IV. 16.
8. Agrawāla. V. S.; *Guide to the Lucknow Museum*, No. J. 278.

ably the same thing was done in this period as well. The use of comb was not unknown to the Indians, even at the time of the Mohenjodaro civilisation, and a very fine ivory comb, rectangular in shape with teeth on both the sides, was found by Mackay at the western end of the long lane[1].

Face Decoration :

Cunningham noticed[2] certain designs, probably tatooed, on the face of female figures, as for example, the sun and the moon and several types of flowers. An *aṅkuśa* or goad like mark is observed on the cheeks of a female bust figure, and the goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheekbone. There are certain other figures which are more ornamented. These include one with a small bird or *triśūla* above each breast, another on the upper arm, an *aṅkuśa* or goad with two straight lines and a small flower on each cheekbone, besides two elaborate cheek ornaments. A third figure has the cheekbones decorated with the sun and the moon, and each cheek is covered with a dense mass of small ornaments. Cunningham contended on the basis of these marks that the Bhārhut culture should be associated with an aboriginal tribe called Kols. This is rather a far-fetched explanation. The Bhārhut culture is unconnected with that region and, secondly, it furnishes evidence of an advanced social organism. Now, as regards tatooing, it is known in Northern India, and there was a time when tatooing of a star on the chin was encouraged even amongst high class ladies. In these figures, facial decorations were only of a temporary character, associated with the paint on the face.

Marriage and Position of Women :

A lawfully wedded wife is called *bhāryā* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*pāṇigṛhītābhāryā*)[3], but a synonymous term *ūḍhā*[4] is also mentioned.

1. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 542.
2. Op. cit. p. 39.
3. IV. 1.52 p. 22, L. 17.
4. I. 1.1 p. 42, L.16.

In another reference the former term is used for a *kṣatriyā* married lady (*bhāryā ātmā kṣatriyā*[1].) but the appellation is too common, and its use cannot be restricted to denote ladies of any particular caste. Sometimes co wives were also addressed as *bhāryās* (*kati bhavato bhāryā iti*)[2], which may suggest polygamy, but it was practised only under exceptional circumstances in Indian society. The girls occasionally made their own choice in matrimonial matters-rather popular in the Regal class, but in this particular reference, it was a Brāhmaṇī girl (*kharur iyam Brāhmaṇī*)[3]. This may have been an exceptional case because generally marriages were arranged by parents who took into consideration the *gotra* and family of the other party. *Sagotra* marriage was not permissible, and one finds references to marital alliances between different *gotras* : the Atri with Bharadvāja, (*Atribhardvājikā*), Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa (*Vasiṣṭhakaśyapikā*), Bhṛgu and Aṅgirasa (*Bhṛgvaṅgirasikā*), Garga and Bhārgava (*Gargabhārgavikā*) and Kutsa and Kuśika (*Kutsakuśikā.*[4]) Despite the care taken by the parents to preserve purity through proper marriages, there were occasional lapses, and the Bhāṣyakāra refers to ladies who were not attached to any particular paramour, but were friendly with many (*naṭānām striyo raṅgaṁ gatā yo yaḥ pṛcchati kasya yūyaṁ kasya yūyam iti taṁ taṁ tava tava ity āhuḥ*[5]). Patañjali also refers to unchaste girls (*udariṇīkanyā*),[6] and her off-spring was called *kānīna*[7].

After marriage the parties had certain conjugal rights and obligations towards each other. The relations between the husband and the wife were like the twisting of the rope (*pāṇi-sargyā rajjuḥ*)[8], and the wife clung to her lord in that spirit. Association with a

1. III. 1.112 p. 85, L. 12.
2. II. 2.25 p. 427, L.10.
3. IV. 1.44 p, 217, L.10.
4. II. 4.62 p. 492, L.8 f.
5. VI. 1,2 p. 7, L.6.
6. V, 2.94 p. 393, L. 19.
7. IV. 1.116 p.258, L.2.
8. III. 1.124 p.88, L.7.

woman during her periods was tabooed, and it was supposed that a woman drinking with one, who was in courses. got herself in menstrua (*yā kharveṇa pibati tasyai kharvastisro rātrīḥ-tasyā iti prāpte*[1].) The *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* have refrained a lady in courses even from looking at deities[2]. A pregnant lady (*garbhībhāryā*), and one having delivered the child (*prasūtabhāryā*)[3] or *sūtikā*[4] needed special care. Though there is no reference to a *sūtikāgṛha*, the place of child delivery, one can hardly question the special arrangements which had to be made for that purpose. Ladies had freedom of movement, and there is no reference to the observance of *pardā*. They enjoyed the respect of their family members. Sir John Marshall referred[5] to the politeness of Indian manners, as he noticed precedence given to ladies over men in the Sāñchī gateway sculptures, especially in scenes of worship.

Pastime and Recreations :

The types and spheres of recreations varied, according to the sex and taste of the person, but there were some which were universally enjoyed. Patānjali has mentioned three terms which are more or less synonymous - *samāja, samāsa* and *samavāya*[6] meaning 'festive gatherings'. In these there were numerous items of entertainment, like, music, dancing aud acting. The story of Kaṁsa and his slaughter, and the binding of Bali were shown on the stage (*ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyakṣaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghātayanti pratyakṣaṁ ca Baliṁ bandhayanti iti*)[7]. In these performances, it was not merely the show, but the speech of the narrator and dialogues, which were much enjoyed. (*yadārambhakā raṅgaṁ gacchanti naṭasya śroṣyāmo*

1. II. 3.62 p. 466, L.10.
2. XIII. L.6067, *Manu.* XI. 171.179.
3. VI. 3.34 p. 150 L. 3
4. VII. 3.45 p. 326, L. 8.
5. *Sāñchi* - Vol. I. p. 259.
6. I. 1.50 p. 123, L. 3.
7. III. 1.26 p. 36, L.15.

granthikasya śroṣyāma iti).[1] The actor used different types of head dresses *(sarvakeśin naṭaḥ)*[2]. The producer connected with the stage was known as *śobhanika*[3] (*śaubhika*), though the term. according to the *Mahāvastu*,[4] denoted a magician. It is just possible that there was a display of magic on the stage, as a later work *Divyāvadāna*[5] actually mentions three kinds of magic performances (*manojava, stambhanī* and *śikhī*).

Dancing was also practised with the movements of steps in a rhythmical manner, and the hands expressing themes through gestures. The art is confined to ladies alone. Patañjali refers to female dancers (*nartakikā*)[6] and the Bhārhut sculptures show only ladies dancing. Five dancing scenes representing, probably, differnt forms are noticed[7]. These include a wife wanting to please her husband, the accomplished nymphs and courtesans dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music, a Nāga maiden dancing on the lifted hood of a Nāga rāja maintaining rhythm with wavy motions of his body, and lastly, dancing by a Nāga rāja. The references, quoted above, suggest the practice of dramatic art in both ways - dancing and acting. Though Keith placed[8] *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the third century A. D,. Pāṇini's reference to the Naṭasūtras[9] testify to the practice of some form of dancing and acting even in his time. Patañjali has referred in a similie to a peacock dancing towards his beloved (*priyāṁ mayūraḥ pratinarnṛtīti yadvat tvaṁ naravara narnṛtīṣi hṛṣṭaḥ*)[10]. There is also a reference to troupe dancers or actors

1. I. 4 26 p. 329, L. 8,
2. II. 1.69 p. 403, L. 22.
3. Op. cit.
4. Vol. III. p. 442, L. 7.
5. pp. 53.22; 637.27; 636.26.
6. VI. 3.42 p. 158, L. 16.
7. Baruā - *Bhārhut*, figs. 95a,34,39,69; XXX. 27.
8. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 31, and ref.
9. IV. 3.110.
10. VII. 3.87 p. 338, LL. 23-24.

(*śailālino naṭāḥ*)[1], who are noticed in an inscription[2] of the Kuṣāṇa period (*śailālakas*). It is not certain if in this period there were particular families of actors, or mobile companies visited different places.

Playing on vocal or instrumental music for pleasure was common. Certain gestures and postures in the Bhārhut sculptures[3] suggest the practice of vocal music. Patañjali has mentioned[4] some musical instruments: drum (*mṛdaṅga*), conch (*śaṅkha*), flute (*tūṇava*) and another instrument of the guitar type (*vīṇā*) having seven strings. One proficient in playing on *mṛdanga* was known as *mārdaṅgika* (*mṛdaṅga vādanaṁ śilpam anyā mārdaṅgikaḥ*)[5], whom Pāṇini called *maḍḍuka* which is explained in the *Kāśikā* as-*maḍḍukavādanaṁ śilpam asya māḍḍukaḥ*)[6], and a tabor player *jharjhara*. *Piṭhara*[7] was a kind of saucepan for making musical sounds. Most of these instruments can be seen in the Bhārhut sculptures, and some were known even in Vedic times. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[8] enumerates the parts of a *Vīṇā*-head or neck (*śiras*), cavity (*udara*), sounding board (*ambhaṇa*), string (*tantra*) and plectrum (*vādana*). The scenes, noted for the display of these musical instruments, are quite a few in the Bhārhut sculptures. A harp of seven strings is being played in the bas-relief of the Indraśālaguhā, and the Audabhūta Jātaka scenes;[9] and a drum, two harps and a pair of cymbals can be seen in the famous dancing *apasaras* scene[10], while a stringed Vīṇā in the hand of Pañcasikha, the famous harper of Indra, is most conspicuous in another relief[11]. The drums-a smaller one beaten by the fingers, and the

1. IV. 2.66 p. 286, L. 18.
2. E. I. Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18.
3. Barua: Op. cit. figs. 34,69,136.
4. II. 2.34 p. 435, L. 11.
5. IV. 4.55 p. 332, L. 5.
6. p. 66.
7. IV. 4.55 p. 332, L. 6.
8. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II. 316.
9. Cunningham : Op. cit. Pls. XXVIII. 4; XXVI. 4.
10. Ibid., Pl. XVI. fig. I and XV. 1.
11. Barua. Op. cit. fig. 56.

bigger ones suspended from the neck and requiring drum sticks, are noticed in the heavenly dancing scenes[1]. An Indian pipe, probably *tūṇava*, is also traced with a pair of cymbals[2]. The two kinds of drums were known as *mṛdaṅga* and *kinkiṇī*[3].

Wrestling, walking and fire display were other items of recreations. The wrestling ground (*śālā*) attracted wrestlers (*malla*)[4], but walking after meals (*bhuktvā vrajati*)[5] might have been a good exercise for old men. Display of fireworks (*alāta cakram*)[6] was, probably, enjoyed by childern alone, but dice playing was a favourite pastime for those who could afford to stake. Gamblers were known as *akṣadyū*; and those playing with stakes of gold were called *hiraṇyadū*[7]. Rogues or cheats in this game were common (*akṣadhūrta*)[8]. Dice-playing has been a favourite pastime since the Vedic times[9], and continued to attract patrons, despite its consequences, in all ages[10]. Patañjali also notices another game called *śalākā* in which an unlucky throw was known as *śalākāpari*[11] in contrast to *akṣapari* in game of dice.

Social Evils :

Lack of enterprise and a desire to grow rich with very little effort (*iha hi sarve manuṣyā alpena yatnena mahato 'rthān ākaṅkṣanti*)[12], generally prompted people to adopt underhand means. There were evils like beggary (*dhanārthaṁ bhikṣāmahe*) or striving for

1. Ibid., Pl. XVI. p. 91.
2. Barua : Op. cit. fig. 128; 8a ahd 6.
3. *Saddh. Puṇḍ*. II. 91; Chap. III. p. 75.
4. III. 4.47 p. 181, L. 18.
5. VIII. 1.7 p. 370, L. 1.
3. III. 2.124 p. 125, L. 17.
7. I. 4.2 p. 310, L. 4.
8. II. 1.40 p. 390, L. 26.
9. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 2 and Ref.
10. *Vinaya* III. 47; *Milindapanha* p. 114; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III. 169 etc.
11. II. 1.16 p 379, L, 19,
12. II. 1.69 p. 404, L. 13.

women (*dārārthaṁ ghaṭāmahe*)[1]. The beggar was not satisfied with the first alms, but was anxious to accumulate (*bhikṣuko 'yaṁ dvitiyām bhikṣām āsādya pūrvāṁ na jahāti saṁcayāya pravartate*)[2]. Cheats (*pārāśava*)[3] were anxious to secure money, but there were other social parasites like the abductor of women (*strīkitava*)[4], or slayer of young boys (*kumāra ghātin*)[5]. The seducer even went to the extent of causing abortion (*bhrauṇahatyā*)[6] with a view to wash off his sins. These evils were not confined to men alone; women were equally responsible, may be, indirectly in certain cases. The prostitutes had their group at a conspicuous place (*gaṇikānāṁ samūho gāṇikyaṁ*)[7]. It is needless to shed light on this institution which has had a long and connected history. Garrulous people (*mukhara*)[8] were not encouraged in society.

Miscellaneous Items of Social Interest :

There are certain other items of social interest which refer to social etiquette or conventions, as for example, one should not bow to the ladies in return (*abhivāde strīvan mā*)[9], or hands should be washed after touching fallen hair and nails (*loma nakhaṁ spṛṣṭvā śaucaṁ kartavyam iti*)[10], and the daily needs of the body should be attended first (*puruṣo 'yam prātar utthāya yāny asya prati śarīraṁ kāryāṇi tāni tāvat karoti*)[11]. These are minor matters which have hardly any value, except for a little interest.

1. II. 1.5 p. 393, L. 20.
2. II. 1,1 p, 365, L. 1.
3. V. 2.76 p. 387, L. 15,
4. II. 1,40 p. 390, L. 1.
5. III. 2.84, p. 111, L. 23,
6. VI. 4.174 p. 234, L. 11.
7. IV 2.40 P. 179, L. 8.
8. V. 9.107 p. 397, L. 9.
9. I. 1.1 p 3, L. 8.
10. I. 1.4 p. 25, L. 10.
11. I. 1.57 p. 145, L. 24.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF SOCIAL INTEREST

We have noticed the social life in all its aspects. The division of society into the usual groups, and the creation of new castes, with the different names given to off-spring from mixed marriages, received top priority. Patañjali was aware of this social phenomenon which was not new to that period, and he was anxious to preserve the purity of Brāhmaṇas, who, despite their failings, continued to enjoy their position by birth in Hindu society. A few castes, especially the mixed ones, had some special functions attached to them. Family was a homogenous unit, consisting of blood relations, and the authority of the head was recognized. The standard of living can very well be judged by the data on food, dress, and ornaments. We have discussed these topics in detail. The household effects included domestic utensils-needed for food preparation, and furniture. We have also considered the problem of marriage, and the position of women, as noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The ladies seem to have enjoyed considerable freedom, as noticed in the sculptures. Pastime and recreations were many and universally enjoyed, like, theatrical performances accompanied with dancing and music. Different kinds of musical instruments, mentioned by Patañjali, are also found in sculptures. The indoor recreations included the game of dice which was probably meant for old and rich people, who had time and money to spend in stakes. Social evils in a progressive society were also known. The evidence, on the whole, suggests an advanced social organism, with full opportunities for relaxation and entertainments, and, despite some social evils, the people, in general, were religious in outlook.

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The information furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* about the economic life of the people is exhaustive enough, and suggests a planned economy. As it was natural for a prosperous people to aspire after a greater satisfaction of their needs, it was planning which was essential. There is no reference to guilds, or union of persons with identical interests, but Patañjali mentions a good many economic professions. The land was, of course, the primary source of livelihood, but people were interested in other types of commercial enterprise as well. Perilous journeys-inland and overseas-were under taken by traders-an index to the wide and varied sphere covered by the economic activities of the people. A variety of coins served as the medium of exchange, and proper weights and measures ensured a satisfaction to the buyer. In this connection. it is interesting to mention the means of communication and transportation, with particular reference to the types of carriages, caravans and other vehicles mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Professions :

The economic occupations may be classified as follows :—those relating to the artisan class, workers in metal, masons and architects, domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, wild professions, manual labourers and the low professions. These exclude those relating to land, and merchandise which have to be considered separately.

(*a*) *Artisan class* : Patañjali refers to five types of artisans in

a village, popularly known as *Pañcakāruki*[1], who, according to Uddyota, were *kulāla*-potter, *karmāra*-an artificer or blacksmith, *vardhakin*-carpenter, *nāpita*-barber, and *rajaka*, known as washerman. They are also noticed separately in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The potter, whose profession dates back to the Vedic times[2], made different kinds of pots out of a lump of clay (*piṇḍākṛtiṁ upamṛdya ghaṭikā kriyante*[4]*-anayor mṛtpiṇḍayor ghaṭaṁ kurviti*)[3]. He was also known as *kumbhakāra* or *mahākumbhakāra*[5] with a bigger establishment. Pots were available in his house called *kumbhakārakulam* (*ghaṭena kāryaṁ kariṣyan kumbhakārakulaṁ gatvā*)[6]. *Karmāra* was a mechanic, though the term sometimes suggested a blacksmith with an old standing[7]. Patañjali distinguishes the two, and he mentions *ayaskāra*[8] and *lohakāra*[9] separately. They are classed as *śilpin* who received daily wages, unlike the *dāsakarmakara*-working on food and clothing only (*bhaktaṁ celaṁ ca*)[10]. The carpenter is specified by the term *vardhakin*, different from *takṣan*. His work-*takṣakarman*[11]-is mentioned by Patañjali. This profession also dates back to the Vedic period[12]. The *kauṭatakṣa*[13] of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, unlike the *vardhakin*, worked at home on his own account and not for a village or corporation, His position is explained in the *Kāśikā*[14] (*svatantraḥ karmajīvī na kasyacit pratibaddha ity arthaḥ.*) *Nāpita*, the village

1. I. 1.48 p. 118, L. 4.
2. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 171 and Ref.
3. I. 1.1 p. 7, L. 13.
4. VI. 1.84 p. 57, L. 2.
5. III. 1.92 p. 75, LL. 13, 22.
6. I. 1.1 p. 7, L. 28.
7. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 140 and refs.
8. VI. 3.116 p. 172, L. 11.
9. IV. 1.158, p. 264, L.9.
10. III. 1,26 p. 36, L. 4,
11. II. 1.1 p. 364, L. 16,
12. *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 297 and refs.
13. V. 4.95.
14. p. 476.

barber, and *rajaka*, the washerman, were indispensable in the economic life of the village. It is probable that the latter was also dyeing clothes (*rañjayati vastrāṇi*)[1].

(*b*) *Workers in metal* : These included goldsmiths, popularly known as *suvarṇakāra*[2], who could make different kinds of ornaments out of a lump of gold (*suvarṇaṁ kayācid ākṛtyā yuktam piṇḍo bhavati*)[3]. This profession seems to be in a flourishing condition in that period, as we find profuse use of ornaments in sculptures. The blacksmith, known as *lohakāra*, or *ayaskāra*, is mentioned separately by Patañjali. He was engaged in making things of domestic use, like needles used for sewing clothes (*tīkṣṇayā sūcyā sivyan*); and arms (*tīkṣṇena paraśunā vṛścan*)[4]. There is no reference to silversmith or *rajatakāra*, and coppersmith (*tāmra-kuṭṭa*) in the *Mahābhāṣyā*, but their existence in the economic life can hardly be questioned.

(*c*) *Masons and Architects :* To this profession belonged the *nagarakāra*[5], or the city architect who probably supervised the construction of buildings, or actually took part in laying bricks, as one finds in the Jetavana monastery scene in Bhārhut sculptures[6], where the foundation is filled with golden pieces. Patañjali also refers to *kūpa-khānaka*, or well digger, bestrewed with dust in the process of digging and removing earth (*kūpakhānkaḥ kūpaṁ khanan yady api mṛdā pāṁsubhiś ca avakīrṇo bhavati*)[7].

(*d*) *Domestic servants* : These were generally engaged by rich people and included *dāsakarmakara* who was engaged on food and clothing (*dāsakarmakara nāmaite 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante*

1. VI. 2.24 p. 194, L. 21.
2. I. 3.27 p. 281, L. 19.
3. I. 1.1 p. 7, L. 14.
4. II. 1.2 p. 375, L. 20.
5. I. 1.39 p. 97. L. 8.
6. Cunningham : *Bhārhut*, Pl. XXVIII.
7. I. 1.1 p. 11, L. 7.

bhaktam celaṁ ca lapsyāmahe)[1]. *Kiṁkarā*[2] was a female servant, probably required for household work. Some others were needed for domestic purposes, as for example, *dvārapāla*-porter, *chattradhāra*-canopy-holder, *bhāravāha*[3]-a carrier or porter, *ghaṭagraha*[4]-the water bearer or carrier, and *bhrāṣṭramindha*[5]-the frier or cook, who sometimes kept his own shop, and provided fried things.

(*e*) *Cooks and Confectioners:* These included the frier, working in his independent capacity and selling fried barley (*bharūjā*)[6] or grain. The confectioners sold articles of daily consumption with reference to drinks and cakes. The *māthitika*-selling whey (*mathitam paṇyam asya māthitika*)[7], and *āpūpika*[8]-dealing in baked cakes or pastries called *śaṣkulī*, and *maudakika*[9] in sweet could be particularised in this group. These professions were not identical. According to the *Mahāvastu*[10], the sweet-meat dealers (*modakārakāḥ*) and curd makers (*dadhikāḥ*) had separate guilds (*śreṇi*). Certain other professions, connected with food, were those of grinders of food grain (*saktukāra*), and winnowers of grain (*taṇḍulika*)[11]. The former is only indirectly referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*[12], but the profession was very important and had a guild of its own in later times[13].

(*f*) *Wild professions* : Though not actually wild in nature, this group included professions like those of fishermen (*niṣāda*)[14], also

1. III. 1.26 p. 36, L. 3.
2. III. 2,21 p. 101, L. 10.
3. III. 2.1 p. 94, Ll. 8.10.
4. III. 2 9 p. 99, L. 15.
5. VII. 3.70 p. 168, L. 4.
6. I. 1.47 p. 115, L. 10.
7. VI. 3.35 p. 155, L. 23.
8. IV. 1.85 p. 237, L. 13.
9. IV. 2.39 p. 209, L. 7.
10. Vol. III, p. 442.
11. V. 2.115 p. 398, L. 8.
12. III. 3.126 p. 156, L. 21.
13. E. I. Vol. XXI. p. 55.
14. V. 4.30 p. 435, L. 8.

called *kaivarta* or ferrymen (*niṣādo mārgavaṁ sūte dāsaṁ naukarma-jīvinam*)[1]; fowlers (*śākunika*)[2] and certain others--*śākulika, mātsyika mainika* and *śāphārika*[3]-all meaning fishermen. The *mainika* was so called, because he was engaged in catching fishes (*mīnān hanti mainikaḥ*). These professions are noticed in earlier[4] and later literature[5].

(g) Low professions : The low professions, included those of the mat maker who fastened together through string, wooden pegs and straw (*saṁnaddhaṁ rajjukīlaka pūlapāṇim*)[6]; weaver (*tantuvāya*) who could make cloth from threads (*asya sūtrasya śāṭakaṁ vayeti*);[7] and hair weaver *(vālavāya)*[8]. Another term *sāṁmātra*,[9] meaning a measurer's son, appears to be of an administrative nature having nothing to do with any economic profession.

It is difficult to make a cut and dried classification of the economic professions. There were many more than are actually mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. One can hardly deny that some of these had their guilds or corporate organisations which existed in earlier times and are also traced in later literature[10].

Agriculture and Husbandry :

Agricultural process has hardly undergone any change, despite political turmoils. The data, furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya*, might not suggest innovations, but some interesting details are worth mentioning, like, different types of land, method of sowing, agricultural implements, seeds and crops, grain storage and other miscella-

1. *Manu*, X. 34.
2. I. 1.2 p. 21, L. 27.
3. I, 1.68 p. 177, L. 15.
4. *Nikāyas-Sam*. II. 256; *Ang*. III. 303 etc,
5. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II. p. 241; *Milindapañha*. p. 311.
6. III. 1.7 p, 14, L. 20.
7. I. 1.45 p. 112, L, 10.
8. IV, 3,84 p, 313, L. 2.
9. IV. 1.115 p. 257, L. 17,
10. Cf. *Jāt*. VI. 22, 427; Vin. IV. 226; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, p. 442 etc.

neous items. Husbandry being allied to agriculture, it may also be considered here.

(*a*) *Agricultural holdings :* The arable land was called *kṣetra*, an old Vedic term pointing to the existence of individual fields, carefully measured off, and fit for cultivation[2]. Another word, mentioned by Patañjali is *kedāra*,[3] noticed earlier in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[4], which was a field under water, as suggested by Manu.[5] The Sūtrakāra distinguishes barren land (*ūṣara*) from pasture land (*gocara*)[6] but Patañjali has mentioned only the latter one. The area brought under cultivation was known as *halyā* or *sītya*[7]. The ordinary cultivator or agriculturist was called *lāṅgalagraha*[8]. The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to the general desire for good fields (*sukṣetriyā*)[9]. The *Mahābhāṣya* also mentions the employment of agricultural labour, which enabled the cultivator to relax himself, and do only supervision work (*ekānte tūṣṇīm āsīna ucyate pañcabhir halaiḥ kṛṣati iti*)[10].

(*b*) *Preparations and methods of sowing :* Before the actual sowing of the seed, the field was properly ploughed. This was done through oxen, also used in carts (*gotaro 'yam yaḥ śakaṭam vahati sīraṁ ca*)[11]. The plough was called *sīra*. The stumps in the ground were weeded out by a hoe, known as *stambaghna*[12]. It was necessary to remove the weeds (*tṛṇa*), thorns and stones, before the actual ploughing of the land. The required number of ploughs depended on the fertility of the land, and its dimensions; the maximum,

1. II. 3.19 p. 453. L. 1
2. R. V. X. 33. 6; I. 110. 5; I. 100. 18 etc.
3. III. 1.87 p. 67. L. 19.
4. IV. 2.42.
5. IX. 38.
6. III. 3.119.
7. 1.1.72 p. 186. L. 12.
8. III. 2,9 p. 99. L. 13.
9. VII. 1.39 p. 256. L. 24.
10. III. 1.26 p. 33. L. 22.
11. V. 3.35 p. 413. L. 17.
12. III. 3.83 p. 151. L. 8.

noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, is five (*pañchbhir halaiḥ*). After the ploughing of the land, the next stage was the sowing of the seeds, which, naturally, varied according to crops and seasons. Pāṇini refers to different types of fields according to crops, as for example, a barley field was called *yavyam* (*yavānām bhavanam kṣetraṁ yavyam*), that of beans (*māṣyam*), and sesamum (*tilyam*)[1]. Patañjali does not distinguish them. As regards the required quantity of seeds for sowing, the *Kāśikā* refers to *prāsthikam*, *drauṇikam* and *khārīkam*[2] fields, that is, those requiring one *prastha*, *droṇa* or *khārī* weight of seed: but according to Patañjali, there were fields requiring a hundred khārī (*khāraśatika*) or a thousand worth of seeds (*khārasahasrika*).[3] Seasmum (*tila*) and beans (*māṣa*) were mixed together in the process of sowing (*tilaiḥ saha māṣān vapati iti*).[4] It was also customary to sow seeds on an auspicious day (*āśvayujī Paurṇamāsī*)[5], though this fact is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

After the sowing of the seeds, periodical supply of water was required for the fields. This was done through canals (*śālyārthaṁ kulyāḥ praṇīyante*)[6], as it was not unusual to expect drought in that village (*vigataḥ secakā asmād grāmād visecako grāmaḥ*).[7] The crop was expected to be good, if there was adequate rainfall (*devaśced vṛṣṭo niṣpannaḥ śālayaḥ*),[8]

Ripening and Reaping :

Some crops ripened early, but others took time. Beans ripened

1. V. 2.3-4. *Kāśikā*. p. 405.
2. V. 1.45 p. 389.
3. V. 1.58 p. 353. L. 23.
4. II. 3.19 p. 452. L. 23.
5. IV. 3.45, *Kāśikā* p. 333.
6. I. 1.23 p. 82, L. 5.
7. I. 4.60 p. 342. L. 12.
8. III. 3.133 p. 159. L. 23.

quickly (*pacelimā māṣāḥ*)[1], but another type took sixty days (*mudgā api ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante*)[2]. The standing crop also needed protection from animals, as well as from robbers. Danger was apprehended for the barley crop from deer (*na ca mṛgāḥ santīti yavā nopyante*)[3], and so there was the need for an observer (*cāvaka*)[4]. A shadow figure, made of straw (*cañcābhirūpaḥ*)[5], was placed in the field to frighten crows and birds, causing destruction to crops. Other dangers were from mole (*ākhu*), locust (*śalabha*) and hawk (*śyena*)[6]. When the crop was ready, reaping or cutting (*lavana*) with a sickle (*dātra*)[7] was the next step. The reaper was called *lāvaka*[8], probably an agricultural labourer, employed on terms which are not mentioned, but, as at present, about 1/16 of the produce was his share. The over-ripened grain, requiring immediate attention, is alluded to in the Pāṇinian rule III.1.125, by the word *lavya*. Patañjali mentions *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*[9], probably, in a different sense. Reaping and mowing seem to be connected. After the cutting of the standing crop, the produce was stored on the threshing floor (*khala*)[10] for being mowed, which was followed by another process called *niṣpāva*[11]. A winnowing fan (*śūrpa*)[12] was used by the winnower (*taṇḍulika*) who might have been an agricultural labourer, employed for the purpose of separating the grain from the chaff. Farmers kept their threshing floors close by in mutual interest.

Storing :

The grain was separated from the chaff, and stored in a

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1. III. 1.96 p. 81. L. 17.
2. V. 1.90 p. 360. L. 3.
3. I. 1.39 p. 100. L. 1.
4. I. 1.3 p. 46, L. 12.
5. I. 2.52 p. 229. L. 5.
6. III. 2.4 p. 98, L. 3.
7. II. 1.32 p. 386. L. 7
8. I. 1.3 p. 46. L. 12.
9. III, 1.125 p. 88. L. 19.
10. II. 1.17 p. 381. L. 6.
11. I. 3. 10 p. 269. L. 12.
12. III 3. 20 p. 146. L. 10.

granary, called *koṣṭha* or *kuśūla*[1]. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali mention these agricultural operations with little difference in expression. The latter, in his comment on the *tiṣṭhadgvādi* sūtra, refers to *khaleyavam khalebusam lūnayavam lūyamānayavam pūtayavam pūya mānayavam*[2]. In sequence of time, during the performance of these operations, *lūnayavam* should come first, and the compound indicates the time when barley was reaped, or was in the process of being reaped (*lūyamānayavam*). The second compound, mentioned as first, suggests the storing of the barley crop, or barley straw (*khalebusam*, on the threshing floor: and lastly the separation of the corn from the straw already done, or in the process of being done (*pūtayavam-pūyamānayavam*).

Grain was stored in jars, and a person, so doing for a specific period, was called *kumbhīdhānya*[3]. A good crop was an indication of the prosperous time ahead which could be found out from a single grain of rice (*eko vrīhiḥ saṁpannaḥ subhikṣaṁ karoti*)[4]. Certain crops were associated with definite parts of the country, as for example, barley was particularly grown in the lands of Uśīnara and Madra (*Uśīnaravanmadreṣu yavaḥ*)[5] and Magadha was famous for śāli or rice (*tān eva śālin bhuñjamahe ye magadheṣu*[6]).

Other Crops :

Besides barley, rice, pulses, and sesamum, which may be called *kṛṣṭapacyā*-ripening in arable land, there were other crops depending exclusively on nature without human enterprise (*akṛṣṭapacyā*)[7]. The latter class, probably, included *nīvāra*-wild rice which is not mentioned by Patañjali, but is referred to by Aśvaghoṣa[8], as the only

1. I. 2. 45 p. 220, L. 1.
2. II. 1. 17 p. 381. LL. 6-7.
3. I. 3. 7 p. 264. L.2.
4. I. 2.58 p. 230. L. 4.
5. I. 1.57 p. 147. L. 15.
6. I. 1.2 p. 19, L. 6.
7. III. 1.114 p. 86. L. 25.
8. *Saundarananda* I. 10.

food for ascetics. Sugar cane (*ikṣu*)[1], cotton (*kārpāsa*)[2], flax (*umā*), and hemp (*bhaṅgā*)[3] were also grown.

Husbandry :

This economic undertaking is associated with land. The person, rearing or in charge of cattle, was known as *gopā* or *gopāla* in the Vedic period[4]. These terms indicate that only cows were reared for milking purpose. The *Mahābhāṣya* provides details regarding different kinds of cows, the method of controlling them when they were out for grazing, and their *śālās* or stables. *Gopālaka*[5] and *govallava*[6], probably synonymous, are mentioned by Patañjali. One possessing brindled cows was known as *citragu*, and the owner of mottled ones was called *śabalagu*[7]. *Pāśupālikā* or *gopālikā*[8] are the two words suggesting women tending cows. The keeper controlled them through a staff (*goyūtham eka daṇḍa-praghaṭṭitaṁ sarvaṁ samaṁ ghoṣaṁ gacchati*)[9]. There are also references to cow stable (*gogoṣṭhaṁ-gavāṁ sthānam*), and sheep stable (*avigoṣṭham*)[10]. A flock of sheep was known as *avikaṭa*, and the owner was required to pay tribute or tax consisting of a ram to the king which was called *avikaṭoraṇa*[11]. *Gomaṇḍala*[12] is used to denote the herd of cows, and *goprapadanīyam*[13] indicated the time of their returning home. Patañjali mentions *gopā* as a special *jāti*[14] or class. There is no reference to

1. V. 2.29 p. 376. L. 17.
2. V. 1.2 p. 337. L. 4.
3. V. 4.29 p. 376. L. 12.
4. *Vedic Index*, Vol I. p. 232.
5. I. 1.23 p. 80, L. 14.
6. VI. 2.52 p. 131. L. 12.
7. II. 1.51 p. 394. L. 3.
8. IV. 1.78 p. 217. L. 12.
9. IV. 2.70 p, 287. L. 10.
10. V. 2.29 p. 376. LL. 14, 21.
11. VI. 3.10 p. 144. L. 23.
12. I. 2.58 p. 230. L. 18.
13. V. 1.111 p. 362. L. 15.
14. III. 1.31 p. 41. L. 12.

the time of milking cows, nor to the duties of the *gopā* who was expected to look after the scattered cows, and to prevent them from trespassing upon cornfields, which have been noted by Aśvaghoṣa[1].

Merchandise :

This term is comprehensive, and we may consider here the data relating to the sale of goods, trade stipulations, if any, vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shops and markets import and export of trade, sale of prohibited articles, and medium of exchange and barter. The general rule of conduct in business transactions is suggested by the word *vyavahāra*[2] which signified a contract, but it is better to take its usuage in a general sense. *Paṇya*[3] is the proper word for a vendible article. The market place was called *āpaṇa*[4], and the dealer was known as *ā-paṇika*[5]. Generally the merchants were named after the things in which they dealt, as for instance, a perfume seller was called *sugandhāpaṇika.* Pāṇini mentions traders, deriving their professional designations from the places visited by them (*gantavyapaṇyaṁ vāṇije*)[6]. Another word, probably suggesting a market place, is *saṁvāha;*[7] but, since it is associated with *grāma, ghoṣa* and *nagara,* one is not very sure about its correct meaning. The business men had shops, facing the main street, as appears from an indirect reference (*atha yadā anena rathyāyāṁ taṇḍulodakaṁ dṛṣṭam)*[8]. There was a closer link between the village and the town for commercial purposes (*loke 'dhikṛto 'sau grāme 'dhikṛto 'sau nagara iti uayate yo yatra vyāpāraṁ gacchati)*[9].

1. *Saundarananda* XIV. 41; IX. 42; XVI. 50.
2. V. 3.67 p. 420. L. 13.
3. V. 3.83 p. 425. L. I8.
4. IV. 2.104 p. 295. L. 16.
6. V. 4.135 p. 443. L. 12.
6. VI. 2.13.
7. II. 4.10 p. 475. L. 5.
8. III. 2. 115 p. 120. L. 13.
9. I. 3. 11 p. 271. L. 23.

Trade Stipulations :

The display of an article implied that it was vendible (*krayya*)[1]. The standard of quality was also ensured, as for example, a woollen blanket conformed to the set standard (*paṇyakambala*)[2]. Negotiations, were necessary between the vendor and the vendee were called *paṇitavyaḥ*[3]; and the price, fixed in terms of coins or other things, actually fluctuated with the demand and supply, as well as with the quality of the thing. The *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the sale of rice (*dhānya*) for two *droṇas* (*dvidroṇena dhānyaṁ krīṇāti*), cattle for five droṇas (*pañcakena paśūn krīṇati*), and rice again for two gold pieces (*dvidroṇena hiraṇyeṇa dhānyaṁ krīṇāti*)[4]. Things were also sold by weight, as suggested by the word *dviśūrpam*, that is, containing two śūrpas, or winnowing baskets with reference to purchases (*dvābhyāṁ śūrpābhyāṁ krītaṁ dviśūrpam.*)[5] A transaction was completed (*satyāpayati*),[6] with the payment of the earnest money (*satyaṁkāra*)[7] to the seller. There is no reference to the inspection of goods in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as we notice in a later work[8]. Probably it was a formal affair, preceding the opening of negotiations which were arranged through a middle man. His share is hinted by the word *vasni*, used in Vedic literature[9] in the sense of 'price paid for anything', or 'its value', or 'the thing as an object of purchase', or 'ware'. Its implication is considered by Pāṇini in three Sūtras which suggest 'value' or' sale price realised', as its meaning. In the first Sūtra '*vasnakrayavikrayāṭṭhan*[10]', *vasnika* is distinguished from *krayika* or *vikrayika;* the former, according to

1. VI. 1. 82 p. 55. L. 5.
2. VI. 2. 42 p. 126. L. 14.
3. Ibid., L. 12.
4. II. 2. 18 p. 452. L. 5 f.
5. V. 1. 20 p. 346. L. 4.
6. III. 1. 25 p. 30. L. 22.
7. VI. 3. 70 p. 167. L. 17.
8. *Milindapañha*, p. 194. L. 18.
9. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 278 and Ref.
10. IV. 4. 13.

the *Kāśikā*[1], depended on *vasna* for his living (*vasnena jīvati*).

It appears that *vasnika* was, probably, a broker or an agent, who brought about the deal between the vendor and the vendee; and, when the sale price was realised, he was entitled to his share which varied according to the proceeds of the sale. The presence of the third party in a transaction ensured security to the seller for his money, and to the buyer for the quality of goods purchased.

Articles of Trade :

Vendible articles were many including the imported ones. Besides his own produce, the vendor also displayed for sale other things connected with his trade. It would mean a long list to enumerate them, but the important ones excluding the food products may be mentioned here, as for instance, fabrics of silk (*kauśeya*)[2], wool (*ūrṇa*)[3], flax (*umā*), hemp (*bhaṅgā*)[4], cotton (*kārpāsa*),[5] cloth (*vastra*)[6], blankets of a set standard (*paṇya kambala*)[7], white woollen garment (*pāṇḍu kambala*)[8], deer skin (*ajina*)[9], dye stuff (*rāga*)[10], and sandals and shoes (*aupānahyaṁ dāruaupānahyaṁ carma*)[11]. Other vendible things, needed for professional or domestic use were : iron chains for binding (*śṛṅkhalā*)[12], agricultural implements, like, sickle (*dātra*)[13] and pottery utensils for storing ghee which were available at the house of the potter[14]. Intoxicating drinks were sold in bars

1. p. 359.
2. IV. 3. 42 p. 309. L. 3.
3. V. 1. 3. p. 938. L. 13.
4. V. 2. 4 p. 372. L. 20.
5. IV. 1. 55 p. 224. L. 13.
6. I. 1. 11 p. 67. L. 22.
7. I. 2. 42 p. 126. L. 18.
8. Ibid. L. 5.
9. VI. 2. 106. p. 133, L. 8.
10. VI. 3. 99 p. 173, L. 13.
11. V. 1. 2 p. 337, LL.6, 7.
12. V. 2. 79 p. 388. L. 11.
13. II. 1. 32 p. 386. L. 6.
14. I. 1.1 p. 7. L. 28.

(*śuṇḍā*),[1] and articles of perfumery (*gandha*)[2] and garland (*mālā*)[3] were available either in shops or on streets from vendors. Weights (*māna*) and measures (*parimāṇa*),[4] vehicles of communication like cart (*śakaṭa*), chariot (*ratha*), and boat (*nau*)[5] were also vendible. Even gold images did not escape the greed of Mauryas, who were anxious to get money out of them, despite their sacred character, as noticed in Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye* (*Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcā prakalpitāḥ*)[6]. Such a thing might have been done under exceptional circumstances, but one can hardly deny that payments must have been made for gold images. Even now idols can be purchased, but once they are set up in a temple, their sacred character cannot be violated, and a Brāhmaṇa would prefer to starve rather than part with his idol. Patañjali has not commented on the Sūtra *Gantavyapaṇyaṁ vāṇije* (VI.2.13) which is illustrated in the *Kāśikā* by merchants dealing in cows and bulls (*govāṇijāḥ*) and horses (*aśva-vāṇijāḥ*)[7]. Ornaments and musical instruments were probably made to order, and some were probably displayed in the shop windows. The sale of certain articles was prohibited, as for example, beef could not be sold, nor was the sale of sesamum allowed, but that of mustard oil was permitted (*yathā tarhi tailaṁ na vikretavyam māṁsaṁ na vikretavyam iti vy-apavṛktaś ca na vikrīyate ' vy apavṛktaṁ ca gāvaś ca sarṣapāś ca vikrīyante*)[8].

Exchange and Barter :

An organised planning in the economic field could only be possible through a medium of exchange, so that people could have complete satisfaction in their requirements. In certain cases barter

1. V. 3. 88 p.427. L. 3.
2. V. 4. 135 p. 443. L. 11.
3. I. 1.9 p. 63. L. 10.
4. V. 1.19 p. 344. LL. 5, 7, etc.
5. IV. 1. 78 p. 232. L. 23.
6. V. 3.99 p. 429. L. 3.
7. p. 541.
8. I. 1.4 p. 25, LL. 9-10.

was also possible, as in the rural economy, where one product was exchanged for another. The thing given in exchange was called *nimāna*[1], and one received for it, *nimeya*[2]. Commenting on the Sūtra-*Saṁkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ* (V.2.47), which refers to the affixing of *mayaṭ* to numericals standing for the value of some part of a thing denoting another thing, Patañjali refers to the guiding principle in all barter transactions, namely, the invariable nature of the ratio. The valuation was determined on the basis of one portion of *nimeya* (the thing to be bought) with several portions of *nimāna* (the thing to be given in exchange). It is inapplicable in the case of *dvau yavānāṁ traya udaśvit iti*[3], nor can the ratio apply to fractions, but only to an integral number, as for example, its inapplicability in the illustration - *dvau bhāgau yavānām adhyardha udaśvitaḥ*[4]. The comparative value of the thing has to be taken into consideration for the application of the *mayaṭ* affix, like, *dvimayā yavā udaśvitaḥ*[5] which suggests that the exchange value of *udaśvit* was twice as much as that of a *yava*. The *mayaṭ* affix also indicates time or fold, - as *dvimayā*[6], sometimes qualifying the *nimāna* and sometimes the *nimeya*.

Barter transactions at that time were not confined to ordinary things of human need, but the principle extended even to bigger transactions. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali, have referred to *vasanārṇam* and *kambalārṇam*[7] pointing to the loan for a cloth of standard size, or that for a blanket of standard quality. The transactions relating to purchase and sale of animals were also arranged through barter, as for instance, *pañcabhir gobhiḥ krītaḥ pañcayuḥ*[8]. One also finds a curious illustration of the purchase of a chariot for five kroṣṭrīs

1. V. 2. 47 p. 382. L.13.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., L. 2.
4. *Kāśikā* p. 418.
5. Ibid.
6. V. 2.47 p. 382. L. 13.
7. VI. 1.89 p. 69. L. 19.
8. I. 2.44 p. 216. L. 14.

(*pañcabhiḥ kroṣṭrībhiḥ krītaiḥ rathaiḥ pañcakroṣṭrībhī rathair iti.*)[1]. It is difficult to assess the value of a female jackal, unless the word *kroṣṭrī* meant something valuable to be given in barter for a chariot. There are also references to measures of capacity which, when used in barter, had affixes denoting quantity, as for example, *dvi-śūrpa* or *tri-śūrpa*[2]. Patañjali refers to three persons in a transaction - the person who gives, the other who takes, and the third who watches the transaction (*tribhiḥ sākṣād dṛṣṭam bhavati yaś ca dadāti yasmai ca dīyate yaś ca upadraṣṭā*)[3].

Coinage :

The comment on the Ārhīya section[4] refers to different types of coins. Most of these were in use in that period, and some could trace their origin to the vedic times. The need for coins of different denominations and metals was to meet the economic pressure. Those mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* include: *niṣka, śatamāna, suvarṇa, śāṇa, kārṣāpaṇa,* with its lower denominations - *ardha* or half, *pāda*-a quarter, *māṣa* with still lower denominations-*ardhamāṣa, kākiṇī* and *ardhakākiṇī;* and *rūpa* which may have been a coin or a figure or symbol stamped on a coin. The value of *niṣka,* a gold coin with a long history[5], was never uniform. It equalled a dīnāra, of 32 small or 16 large rattis, or a *kārṣa* or *suvarṇa* of 16 *māsas*, or a *pala* of 4 or 5 *suvarṇas*, or a large *pala* or *dināra*, variously reckoned at 108 or 150 *suvarṇas* or *māṣas* or 16 drammas. It was also a weight of silver of 4 *suvarṇas*[6]. Patañjali uses the word *naiṣkika* in the sense of deserving a *niṣka,* as for instance, one deserving a hundred was called *śatikaḥ* and a thousand *sāhasraḥ*[7]. The individual

1. VII. 1.95 p. 273. L. 15
2. V. 1.37 p. 350. L. 23.
3. V. 2.91 p. 389. L. 14.
4. Ref. *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, Chapter XXXIII — for the collection of the *Sūtras* on '*Ārhīya*' affixes.
5. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 454 and ref.
6. *Manu*, VIII. 137; Cf. Monier Williams : *Sanskrit - English Dictionary* p. 562, col. 2.
7. V. 1.19 p. 344. L. 19.

wealth was also reckoned in terms of this coin (*na hi niṣkadhanaḥ śataniṣkadhanena spardhate*[1]. The quarter, known as *pādaniṣkā*[2] is also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The next coin *śatamāna* is noticed by Patañjali in his comment on the sūtra - *vibhāṣā kārṣā paṇasahas rābhyām*[3], which refers to the optional elision of *luk* after the words *kārṣāpaṇa* and *sahasra*, and there *suvarṇā* and *śatamāna* are also added when they are preceded by *adhyardha*, or they are members of a *dvigu* compound: like, *adhyardhaśatamānam, dviśatamānam*. The metal or value of this coin is not known, but, according to Manu[4], it was a denomination of silver (*śatamānas tu rājataḥ*). The position of *suvarṇa*, mentioned in the same context, is equally doubtful. It was a coin, as well as a denomination of weight equal to 80 *guñjas* or 146 grains, according to Kauṭilya;[5] and required an additional *kākiṇī*, (one fourth *māṣa*) metal, to be added to it, as against loss in maunfacture. In the time of Manu, a *suvarṇa* was one-fourth of a *niṣka* (*catuḥ suvarṇako niṣko vijñeyas tu pramāṇataḥ*[6].

A coin of lower denomination in ratio to *śatamāna* was *śāṇa*[7] which, according to the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, was 1/8 of the latter (*astau śāṇāh śatamānaṁ vahanti*)[8]. It appears that *niṣka* and *suvarṇa* were gold coins, while *śatamāna* and *śāṇa* were probably of silver, as suggested by Manu. The copper coins in circulation were of different denominations.

Kārṣāpaṇa was the most popular coin of different values. It was, probably, the standard money and its denominational value was

1. V. 3.55 p. 414. L. 2.
2. VI. 3.56 p. 163. L. 9.
3. V. 1.29 p. 349. LL. 7-9.
4. VIII. 137.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 90 (*Shamasāstry*).
6. Op. cit.
7. V. 1.35 p. 350. LL. 7.8.
8. III. 10665.

implied in phrases like *śatena krītaṁ śatyam śāṭakaśataṁ iti*[1] and *aikādaśaṁ śatasahasraṁ iti*[2]. According to Manu, it was synonymous with *paṇa* (*kārṣāpaṇas tu vijñeyas tāmrikaḥ kārṣikaḥ paṇaḥ*)[3]. Its other name is *prati* or *pratika*, meaning 'purchased of a *kārṣāpaṇa*' (*kārṣāpāṇikaḥ - kārṣāpaṇiki - pratikaḥ - pratikī*)[4]. The metal of this coin was not only copper, as mentioned by Manu, but it could also be of silver[5], or black metal (iron or lead)[6]. Its value or weight differed according to the nature of the metal (if of gold 16 *māṣas*, silver - 16 *paṇas*; and copper - 80 *raktikas* or 176 grains)[7]. The numismatics use this term to denote Punch-marked coins. Its lower denominations were - *ardha kārṣāpaṇa*[8], and *pāda*[9], the quarter one which was distinct from a *pādaniṣka*[10]. Kauṭilya[11] also mentions a token coin, *aṣṭabhāga* - 1/8 of a *kārṣāpaṇa* in value. Cunningham had suggested[12] that the tail-end of the *kārṣāpaṇa* coins was limited to half and quarter size only.

Māṣa, as a *parimāṇa* or weight[13], is distinguished from the type of pulse known by that name, and it is associated with *akṣa* and *pāda*, the two other words denoting measures. Kauṭilya has classed[14] it as a copper coin, being 1/16 of a *kārṣāpaṇa* in value, with its lower denominations - *ardhamāṣa* which is also noticed in the Jātakas[15]. There were still lower denominations like *kākiṇī* and

1. V. 1.21 p. 346. L. 8.
2. V. 2.45 p. 380. L. 17.
3. VIII. 136.
4. V, 1.24 p. 347. LL. 19-20.
5. *Majj. Nikāya* II. 163; *Ang. Nikāya* 1.250.
6. *Dhammapada Commentary* (P. T. S.) III. 254.
7. *Monier Williams* - op. cit. p. 276. col. 3.
8. V. 1.25 p. 347. L. 18.
9. I. 3.72 p. 293. L. 5.
10. VI. 3.56. p. 163. 49.
11. Op. cit. p. 84.
12. *Coins of Ancient India*,. p. 46.
13. I. 2.45 p. 220. L. 2.
14. Op. cit. p. 84.
15. III. 448.

ardhakākiṇī. The latter is not directly referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but its use can be inferred from the reference to *adhyardhakākiṇīkam*[1], that is, one and a half *kākiṇī*. Rhys Davids suggested[2] that the monetary value of a *kākaṇikā* may be guessed at being 1/8 of a *kahāpaṇa*, as it occurs in a descending order where each succeeding coin marks half the value of the preceding one, that is, *kahāpaṇa*, *aḍḍha*, *pāda*, *māsaka*, *kākaṇikā*, followed by *mudhā* 'for nothing'. It appears that these lower denominations were both coins and weights.

The finds of silver and copper punch-marked coins have testified to the use of these coins, and the correctness of their weight as recorded in literature; but the total absence of gold coins is a strange phenomenon. These silver and copper coins are classified by Allan,[3] and class 2 coins of his catalogue are 1/2 *kārṣāpaṇa* of an Indian standard, the usual weight varying between 25 and 26 grains; but those of class 3, presumably from a different part of India, are 2 - 3 grains higher than coins belonging to the preceding class. A single and double *kārṣāpaṇa* coins, belonging to class IV type are not generalized for want of adequate specimens. The quarter *kārṣāpaṇas*, known as *pādika*, are of a heavier standard weighing 14.4 and 14.9 grains, a slightly above Cunningham's theoretical *pādika* of 14.4 grains. He contended that the greater majority of silver coins of Ancient India were full *kārṣāpaṇas*, halves and quarters being much rarer. Very small square coins (class 9), weighing from 2 - 3 grains are 1/16 *kārṣāpaṇas* or *kṛṣṇalas*. Allan found it difficult to generalize on the basis of their weights, as they are not struck or cast so carefully, and secondly because of their depreciation in course of time; but attempt was made in this direction by Durgā Prasād[4]. According to his contention, *kārṣāpaṇas* weighed 80 rattis or 144 grains, but silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, of equal

1. V. 1.30 p. 350, LL. 2, 4.
2. *Pali Dictionary, part III.* p. 30.
3. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. clxi.
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. 30, 1934 - *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV. p. 5 f.

value namely 32 rattis of weight were also minted, and called *raupyakārṣāpaṇa*. He also noticed two varieties of copper *kārṣāpaṇas* which are rare: and *ardhas, pādas, triṁśakus dvimāṣakas* and *māṣakas* of copper and silver were in his own cabinet.

Viṁśatika and *triṁśatika,* mentioned by Patañjali[1], can also be placed in this group. It is contended[2] that the two words refer to different types of coins - the former being of 100 rattis of copper and 40 rattis of silver; and the latter weighing 60 rattis. The evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya* is cited to show that in times past, sixteen *māṣas* made one *kārṣāpaṇa*, and sixteen *palas* (phalas) made one *māṣaśaṁvatyāḥ* (*purākalpa etad āsīt ṣoḍaśamāṣāḥ kārṣāpaṇaṁ ṣoḍaśa palāś ca māṣa-saṁvatyaḥ*).[3] This implication meant that a teacher was considering a *paṇa* of sixteen *māṣas* as absolute, and was probably acquainted with a *kārṣāpaṇa* of twenty *māṣas* in some locality. It was therefore suggested that the 16 *māṣaka,* as well as, the 20 *māṣaka kārṣāpaṇas* were in circulation at the same time. This suggestion cannot be accepted unless sufficient coins of these denominations are available to form a sound opinion on this matter.

Rūpa :—the sūtra *Rūpādāhataprasaṁsayoryap*[4], meaning the affix *yap* comes in the sense of a *matup* after the word *rūpa* when *āhata* stamping, and *praśaṁsā*-praise, are denoted, possibly refers to another type of coin. At another place Patañjali, mentions *rūpatarka* examining a *kārṣāpaṇa (paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpaṇam)*[5]. It seems that he was the same as *rūpadarśaka* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[6], but D. R. Bhandarkar, citing *Mahāsopina Jātaka* suggested[7] that the word indicated the coin which, was the subject of examination, though its exact denomination is unknown. This word should be differentiated from *rūpya,* which, as an adjective, may mean any

1. V. 1.24 p. 347, L. 10.
2. J. U. P. H. S. Vol. XI. pt. I. p. 74 f.
3. I. 2.64 p. 247. L. 16.
4. V. 2.120.
5. I. 4.52 p. 337. L. 12.
6. Op. cit. p. 69.
7. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 132.

type of coin with a figure (*rūpa*) stamped on it. In fact, according to the *Kāśikā*, *dīnāra*, *kedāra* and *kārṣāpaṇa* had symbols impressed on them by means of striking a punch, and this process was called *āhata (ahataṁ rūpam asya rūpyo rūpyaḥ kedāraḥ rūpyaṁ kārṣāpaṇam)*[1]. It is doubtful, if the gold coins were stamped, because the Punch-marked coins are confined to silver and copper alone, and this type of coin, according to Allan[2], was the sole silver currency of a certain period. It may, however, be assumed that *rūpa* was another type of coin, the metal being unknown, while *rūpya* denoted the stamping of the punches on coins.

Weights and Measures :

In the *Mahābhāṣya* there are many references to different kinds of weights and measures, which were, probably, in use in that period. According to Patañjali, the weights never varied one way or the other (*droṇaḥ khāryaḍhakam iti naivadhike bhavanti na nyūne*)[3]. They were uniformly used, as for instance, oil and ghee could be weighed in *khārī*, as well as, in *droṇa (tailaṁ ghṛtam iti khāryām api bhavanti droṇe 'pi)*[4]. The weights included : *āḍhaka*, *droṇa* and *khārī* in ascending order, besides a few minor ones. The former was ¼ of a *droṇa*, equivalent to 16 *kuḍavas* or nearly 7 lbs. - 10, ozs in weight. *Droṇa* was four times in weight to the *āḍhaka*, but *khārī* was a measure of grain = 16 *droṇas* or about 3 bushels. Grain weighing one *khārī* was enough for being sown in a limited plot of land.

Other weights mentioned are : *pala*, *māṣa*[5], *kārṣāpaṇa*[6], *kuḍava*[7],

1. p. 432.
2. Op. cit. p. clx.
3. I. 1.72 p. 184. L 17.
4. Ibid., 1.19.
5. I. 2.45 p. 220. L. 2.
6. I. 2.64 p. 247. L. 16.
7. V. 2.37 p. 378. L. 13.

and *śūrpa*[1]. Their weights and relations to one another are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*[2], and in the *Manu*[3] and *Yājñavalkya*[4] *Smṛtis*, According to Manu, five *kṛṣṇalas* or *raktikās* made one *māṣa* (bean), and sixteen of these made one *suvarṇa*; four *suvarṇas* were equivalent to a *pala* or *niṣka* and 10 *palas* made a *dharaṇa* of gold. The above ratio was applied to gold and copper only. For silver, 2 *kṛṣṇalas* or *raktikās*=1 *māṣa*; 16 *māṣas*=1 *dharaṇa* or *purāṇa* and 10 *dharaṇas*=1 *śatamāna* (pala). A *karṣa* of copper, was a *kārṣāpaṇa* or *paṇa*. The weights have been analysed by several scholars[5], on the basis of these original sources. According to these sources a *māṣa* weighed about 17 grains, the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* was equivalent to 16 *paṇas* or 1280 *kowries*, but the copper one equalled 80 *raktikās* or about 176 grains.

Kuḍava and *śūrpa* were other denominations of weight. The former was a measure of grain or of wood or of iron etc. equivalent to ¼ of a *prastha*. It is described as a measure of capacity also, containing 12 *prakṛtis* or handfuls in a vessel four fingers wide and as many deep[6]. This weight is noticed in the *Mahābhārata*[7], as well as in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. *Śūrpa* was a measure of two *droṇas*. Patañjali has mentioned *adhyardha-śūrpa*[8], which shows that there was room for a fractional weight also. Patañjali has also referred to *tailamātra* and *ghṛtamātra*[9] which imply that there were certain pots for measuring ghee and oil, but their capacity is unknown.

1. V. 1.20 p. 346, L. 4.
2. Chapter XIX.
3. VIII. 134 f.
4. I. 361 f.
5. Colebrooke : *Indian Weights and Measures, Trans.* A. S B. 1801 p. 95 f ; L. D. Barnett : *Antiquities of India*, p. 206 f ; Prānnāth : *Economic Condition of Ancient India*, p. 71 f.
6. Monier-Williams : Op. cit. p. 239.
7. XIV. 2722.
8. I. 1.23 p. 82. L. 19.
9. I. 1.56 p. 138. L. 18.

Measurements : These refer to time and space, and include *akṣa*, *pāda*[1], *aratni*[2], *prādeśa*[3], *vitasti* and *diṣṭi*[4]. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and *Manusmṛti* furnish detailed information on these as well[5]. *Akṣa* was equivalent to 104 *aṅgulas*, *pāda* was 12 or 15 fingers in breadth or ½-⅓ or 2/7 of a *prakrama*[6], and it is noticed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] also. *Aratni* was a cubit of the middle length from the elbow to the tip of the middle length. *Prādeśa* was a measure of 12 *aṅgulas* and it covered the span of the thumb and forefinger[8]. *Vitasti* was a particular measure of length, defined either as a long span between the external thumb and the little finger, or as the distance between the wrist and the tip of the fingers, said to be 12 *aṅgulas* or about 9 inches. It was also a Vedic measure mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gṛhya Sūtra*[9].

We have already referred to different types of weights as mentioned by Kauṭilya and Manu. They have noticed several kinds of measurements and their proportions to one another. According to Kauṭilya[10], 12 *aṅgulas* equalled 1 *vitasti*; 2 *vitasti*=1 *aratni;* 192 *aṅgulas*=1 *daṇḍa*, 10 *daṇḍa*,=1 *rajju;* and 2 *rajju*=1 *paridеśa*. Patañjali also refers to *rajju*[11] or rope, and *yojana*[12] which, according to Kauṭilya, equalled 4 *krośas*.

Labour :

It is another economic phenomenon which needs consideration.

1. I. 2.45 p. 220. L. 2.
2. I. 1.14 p. 25. L. 5.
3. I. 4.84 p. 346. L. 23.
4. V. 2.37 p. 378. L. 13.
5. Chap. XX, I. 64.
6. VI. 1.172 p. 107. L. 13.
7. Cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 516 and Ref.
8. Ibid., Vol. II. p. 50.
9. Monier Williams: Op. cit. p. 962, col. 3.
10. Op. cit. p. 117. f.
11. I. 1.44 p. 110. L. 4.
12. II. 3. 28 p. 455. L. 13.

Patañjali refers to a labourer working on five, six or ten coins (*pañcakamāsikuḥ, ṣaṭkamāsikaḥ* and *daśakamāsikaḥ*)[1], probably *kārṣāpaṇa* a month. There is another reference to a servant working, until the cow, promised as his wages, was given to him. He was known as *āgavīnaḥ karmakaraḥ*[2]. Sometimes the labourers worked in a team, and the physical incapacity of one did not stand in the way (*yo 'yaṁ durbalaḥ san balavadbhiḥ saha bhāraṁ vahati*)[3]. Clever workers were known as *uṣṇaka* and lazy ones were called *śītaka* (*yaḥ śītaṁ karoti sa śītako yo voṣṇaṁ karoti sa uṣṇakaḥ*[4]). Unfortunately there are no references to such labour problems, like, the unwillingness on the part of employers to give more to the employees, and extra or double wages or forced labour, which we find in later Buddhist literature[5].

Communications :

Facilities for transport, means of communications, particularly the types of carriages, and travelling in company, are other interesting items of economic life. In early times there were lines of communications connecting the North with the South-West, from Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) to Paitthāna, with halting places at Ujjenī, Gonaddha, Vīdisā, Kosambī, and Sāketa; and from North to the South-East, Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) to Rājagaha (Rājagiri); and from East to West on which route boats plied for hire[6]. Traders undertook long inland trips from Videha to Gandhāra, and from Magadha to Sovīra; from Bharukaccha round the coast to Burma; and from Benaras down the river to its mouth, and then on to Burma ; and also from Champā to the same destination[7]. With this much information as the background, it is not surprising to find in the *Mahābhāṣya* references to lines of communication connecting different centres in

1. V. 4.116 p. 442. L. 19.
2. V. 2.14 p. 374, L. 13.
3. I. 3.1 p. 273. L. 22.
4. V. 2.74 p. 387. L. 5.
5. *Sadd. Pun.* III. 125; IV. 105, L. 9; IV. 17.
6. *Vinaya* I. 81; III. 401.
7. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India* p. 104.

Madhyadeśa. We have also referred to certain other phenomenon pointing to the distance between Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī. Patañjali refers to the movement of people, from one village to another, and enquiring the way (*grāmāntaraṁ gamiṣyāmi panthānam me bhavān upadiśatu iti*)[1]. The travellers also trod on forest roads (*kāntāra pathika*), as well as on water and land (*vāripathika, sthalapathika*)[2]. The streets for carriage drive were called *rathyā*[3]. An agreeable traveller in company was *pathipriya*[4], and generally travelling was done in caravans - *śakaṭasārtha*[5] with a view to avoiding risks which were inevitable when travelling alone. Even then sometimes the caravan lost its way, or was decoyed by robbers. These facts are not mentioned by Patañjali, but they are noticed in later literature[6]. Going in a carriage was very common (*rathikān upatiṣṭhate*)[7]. Horses, camels, and even asses were used in carts (*āśvaratham auṣṭraratham* and *gārdabharatham*)[8]. People also used a she-elephant (*ārohayati hastī sthalam manuṣyān*)[9].

Banking :

Credit was playing an important part in the economic life. The money lender was known as *prayojaka*[10]. Interest, paid over and above the principal, was called *vṛddhi*. Patañjali mentions *pañcavṛddhi*[11], probably five per cent interest. According to *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, quoted by Manu[12], the rate of interest was 1 1/4 per cent. It is, however, to be seen if the rate of interest mentioned

1. I. 1.49 p. 118. L 22.
2. V. 1.77 p. 358. L. 22.
3. V. 1.6 p. 339, L. 5.
4. VI. 4.204 p. 116. L. 21.
5. III. 2.115 p. 120. L. 21.
6. *Lalitavistara*, XV. p. 227. L. 21.
7. I. 3.25 p. 281. L. 7,
8. IV. 3.120 p. 318. L. 19.
9. VIII. 1.56 p. 378. L. 17.
10. III. 1.26 p. 36. L. 8.
11. V. 1.47 p. 351, L. 12.
12. S. B. E. Vol. 25 p. xxxix; VIII. 140.

by Patañjali, is monthly or yearly. It was not unusual to charge such a high monthly rate of interest, but it was quite reasonable if the rate was yearly. Interesting data on banking are furnished by the later Buddhist literature[1], which refers to the negotiator of a loan (*Iṇasādhaka*) for the borrower (*Iṇagōhaka*), the harassment of debt (*Iṇatta*), and release from it (*Iṇamokkhā*), which we also notice in the Jātakas[2]. The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*[3] calls money lending (*yogaprayoga*), and interest (*prayoga*). There is no other reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* on banking details.

We have discussed practically all the aspects of economic life in detail, the professions of the *pañca-kārukī*, the five village artisans *kulāla, karmāra, vardhakin, nāpita* and *rajaka*, with their separate functions; workers in metal, especially goldsmiths, and blacksmiths; masons and architects; domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, and certain wild professions, like, those of the fowler and the fisherman; and some low professions. The subject relating to agriculture and husbandry is considered in detail with reference to the division of holdings, preparations and methods of sowing, which varied according to seasons and crops; and the amount of seed needed. Ripening, reaping and threshing followed in the usual course, and the use of agricultural labour was a necessity, especially in big holdings. Grain was stored in big jars. In this connection we also mentioned different crops. Husbandry or the profession of cattle rearing was closely associated with land, and cows and sheep were reared. Merchandise being a comprehensive subject, we considered the position of the vendor and the vendee, trade stipulations and negotiations in a transaction in which the broker played his part. We also mentioned articles of trade noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Such a developed economic life necessarily involved exchange, barter, and the intensive use of coinage. A good many types of coins, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, can be identified with the

1. *Milindapañha*, pp. 365, 315.
2. IV. 280; V. 239.
3. IV. 103; IV. 7.

Punch-marked coins, because their weights agree. Weights and measures are also noticed. Lastly, we referred to means of communication, and banking, with reference to the position of the creditor and the rate of interest charged by him. The data present a true picture of the economic life in that period which was fully developed and completely matured.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LIFE.

The evidence, afforded by the *Mahābhāṣya,* on this aspect of Indian life is important and interesting. In the Preamble, Patañjali mentions in detail the objects underlying the study of grammar which are the protection of the Vedas, and the utilization of learning in various ways. The aims of study for seeking the truth, and acquiring knowledge of different subjects, methods employed - both deductive and inductive, place and time of study, relations between the preceptor and the pupil, unworthy students and harsh teachers, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writing, female education, and other miscellaneous subjects are mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra either in comments or by way of illustrations. The material, provided by this work, is comprehensive enough for us to form an estimate of the then prevailing system. Patañjali has presented the picture correctly, since he did not fail to mention the short-comings as well. Here it may be interesting to find Patañjali's reference to the grammatical accuracy in the popular sphere, as one notices in the typical illustration in his gloss to Vārttika on II.4.56. It describes a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman, and the latter points to the correctness of a grammatical formation. This may be a solitary instance, because the Bhāṣyakāra wrote his work for the Śiṣṭas at a time when grammatical studies were being neglected, and there was the need for explaining and illuminating the sūtras of Pāṇini.

Objects of Study :

Patañjali devotes a good portion of the first Pāda, in the first Āhnika of the first Chapter of the *Mahābhāṣya,* to the study of

grammar, and its necessity, but he also makes certain remarks on the objects of study. No doubt, grammatical study was necessary for the protection of the Vedas (*rakṣārthaṁ vedānām adhyeyaṁ vyākaraṇam*)[1], but it was also helpful in other spheres, as for example, in grasping the etymology of words, their formations, inflections and modifications (*vipariṇamayitum*)[2]. It was obligatory for a Brāhmaṇa to study grammar as one of the six members of Vedic studies (*Brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo 'dhyeyojñeya iti*)[3], with a view to avoiding the use of corrupt words (*duṣṭāñśabdān mā prayukṣmahīty adhyeyaṁ vyākaraṇam*)[4]. The other reasons, enumerated for this study, are: for proper case endings of the *Prayāja* hymns (*savibhaktikāḥ śakyāḥ kartum*)[5], it being compulsory for sacrificial priests (*ā-ṛtvijīnāḥ syām*)[6], and finally for communion with God (*mahatā devena naḥ sāmyaṁ yathā syāt*)[7]. It is also suggested that as the words of the Vedas, if studied systematically, bear fruit, so he, who uses the words grammatically obtains religious felicity (*yathā vedaśabdā niyamapūrvam adhītāḥ phalavanto bhavanty evaṁ yaḥ śāstra-pūrvaṁ śabdān prayuṅkte so 'bhyudayena yujyata iti*[8]. The objects, underlying the study of *śabdānuśāsana*-the grammar, are: preservation (*rakṣā*), adaptation to circumstances (*ūha*), doctrine (*āgama*), quick understanding (*laghu*), and the removal of confusion or doubts (*asaṁdeha*)[9].

This study was also made from the utilitarian (*laukika*) point of view, namely, to prepare a Brāhmaṇa boy for properly discharging his duties in places where required. The ultimate end of all was to seek the highest knowledge, as one finds in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*

1. I. I. 1 p. 1, L. 15.
2. Ibid., L. 18.
3. Ibid , LL. 18-19.
4. Ibid., p. 2. L. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 3. L. 11.
6. Ibid., L, 13.
7. Ibid., L. 22.
8. Ibid., p. 10. L. 23.
9. Ibid., p. 1. L. 14.

Upaniṣad[1]. According to the Bhāṣyakāra, knowledge could be perfected by receiving instruction (*āgamakāla*), assimilation (*svādhyāya*), teaching (*pravacana*), and lastly by practice (*vyavahāra*)[2]. This shows that mere study with the teacher was not enough, but perfection needed constant study, and in different circumstances. It was also necessary for householders to acquire learning to be able to win a position in society. Thus, a pupil, running away from his teacher's place without fulfilling his terms of residence, was looked down upon as *khaṭvārūḍha*[3], an iniquitous person who wished to use a bedstead during his period of studentship. After completing his education, the student had a bath and finally sought the permission of his preceptor to enter the life of a householder (*adhītya snātvā gurubhir anujñātena khaṭvāroḍhavyā*[4]. It is clear that education was a necessity, and its ideal was not merely to seek the ultimate truth by attaining knowledge, but also to equip oneself for faithfully living the life of a householder.

Subjects of Study :

Some of the subjects were particularly meant for the Brāhmaṇas, a few for the Kṣatriyas, but others could be studied universally by the *dvijas*. A Brāhmaṇa boy was expected to study and read *Dharma*, six *Aṅgas* and *Vedas* without any special occasion (*brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo ' dhyeyo jñeya iti*)[5], but the principal subject was grammar (*pradhānaṁ ca ṣaṭsvaṅgeṣu vyākaraṇam*). Patañjali refers to the ancient custom amongst Brāhmaṇas of studying grammar after the time of "the sacrament of the holy thread" (*purākalpa etad āsīt saṁskārottara-kālaṁ Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇaṁ sma adhīyate*)[6]. The instruction in Vedic words was imparted to them only when they could understand the places of utterance, and internal and external efforts (involved in the production of

1. IV. 4.21.
2. I. 1.1 p. 6. L. 1.
3. II. 1.16 p. 384. L. 10.
4. Ibid., L. 11.
5. I. 1.1 p. 1 L. 19.
6. I. 1.1 p. 5 L. 7.

sound), and articulated sounds (*tebhyas tatra sthānakaraṇānupradāna-jñebhyo vaidikāḥ śabdā upadiśyante-tad adyatve na tathā vedam adhītya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti*)[1]. Later on, the position was somewhat changed and the study of grammar was considered redundant (*anarthakaṁ vyākaraṇam iti*), with the result that the Ācārya (Pāṇini) had to write his work with a view to stress its need. (*tebhya evaṁ vipratipannabuddhibhyo ' dhyetṛbhya ācārya idaṁ śāstram anvācaṣṭe*)[2].

A study of the Vedas included all the four, with six *Aṅgas*, and their mystical (secret) treatises, *śakhās* of *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* with its thousand paths (*catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyā bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasra - vartmā sāmavedaḥ*), the sacred traditions of the *Bāhv-ṛcas* (*ekaviṁśatidhā bāhv - ṛcyam*), the *Atharvaveda* with nine branches (*navadhātharvaṇo vedo*), treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic (*vākovākyam*), Epics, historical legends (*itihāsa*), Purāṇas and the science of medicine (*vaidyakam*)[3]. In another reference, Patañjali also refers to texts, handed down by repetition from the *Atharvaveda* (*ātharvaṇa āmnāyaḥ*)[4]. There are also references to a work called *Saṁgraha*, Metrics (*Chandaḥ śāstra*)[5] and *Dharmaśāstra*[6]. The study of Astrology was made with measurements, and there are references to *kāla* - time, and *muhūrta* - a particular division of time (*sakāṣṭhaṁ jyotiṣam adhīte - sakālaṁ sumuhūrtam*[7]. A comparative study of all doctrines (*sarvatantra*) is also mentioned[8]. Patañjali refers to Brāhmaṇīs studying *kāśakṛtsnī* doctrine and were accordingly known *kāśakṛtsnīm adhīte kāśakṛtsnā Brāhmaṇī)*[9]. In the same way, students reading *Sumanottarā* and *Vāsavadattā* were called *Saumanottarika* and *Vāsavadattika*[10], but one

1. Ibid., LL. 7-9
2. Ibid., L. 17.
3. I. 1.1 p. 9 LL. 21-23.
4. IV. 3.131 p. 320. L. 9.
5. I. 2.32 p. 208. L. 19.
6. I. 2.64 p. 242. L. 25.
7. VI. 3.79 p. 170. L. 17.
8. IV. 2.60 p. 284. L. 12.
9. IV. 1.14 p. 206. L. 9.
10. IV. 2. 60 p. 284. L. 12.

doubts if the reading of these stories could confer a different class of studentship. It could only imply that there was room for non-serious studies as well. In this comment on the Sūtra *Chandobrāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāṇi*), meaning that the affix denoting the 'announcer' has the force of 'one who studies' or 'one who knows' when added to a Veda - Text or Brāhmaṇas; and a *prokta* affix could only be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, when an *adhyetṛ* or *vedetṛ* affix follows it', Patañjali mentions[1] the study of the Vedas, as announced by Kroḍa, Kaṅkata, Muda, Pippalāda; the Kalpa texts announced by Kaśyapa or Kuśika, and other subjects. Paiṅgi was also read, along with the old Kalpas of Kāśyapins, Kauśikins and Āruṇaparāji, as suggested by Maxmuller[2], and old Sūtras including those of the Pārāśarins, Śailālins, Karmandins and Kṛāśvins.

Besides popular studies including narratives (*ākhyāyika*), historical legends, Purāṇas and tales like those of Yava-krīta, Priyaṅgu, Yayāti, Vāsavadattā and Sumanottarā[3], there was, probably, some training in other subjects, like, *Vāyasavidyā* - the science of augury from observing crows, chiromancy etc. (*āṅgavidyā*), and the science of animals (*golakṣaṇa - aśvalakṣaṇa*[4]). *Kṣātra vidyā, Dhārmavidyā*[5] Juristic studies and *Traividyā* were not neglected, and Patañjali also refers to training given in archery (*dhanuṣi śikṣate*)[6]. It is interesting to learn that a person belonging to a higher caste, even though degraded, was entitled to the study of the Vedas (*Yadi tarhi nipātanāny apy evam jātīyakāni bhavanti śrotṛyamaś chando 'dhīte*[7]).

Despite the study of other subjects, the importance of grammar was immense, and Patañjali contemptuously refers to a bad grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇapāśa*)[8]. This fact is also evident from the growth

1. IV. 2.66 p. 286, L. 12.
2. *His. Anc. San. Lit.* p. 364, note.
3. IV. 2. 60 p. 284. LL. 7—9.
4. Ibid. , L. 2.
5. Ibid. , L. 6.
6. I. 3. 21. p. 280. L. 8.
7. III. 1. 122. p. 87. L. 8.
8. V. 3. 47. p. 411. L. 6.

of grammatical literature between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. The latter has referred[1] to four land marks in the history of grammar, represented by the schools of the four Ācāryas: Āpiśala, Pāṇini, Vyādi and Gautama, probably in chronological order. He also mentions the grammarians of the following schools - Bhāradvājīya[2], Saunāga[3], Kuṇaravādava[4], and Sauryabhāgavata[5]. All the schools lay emphasis on grammatical studies preceding initiation into the Vedas.

Place and Time of Study :

These varied according to the circumstances and nature of studies. Patañjali refers to *gurukula* or the 'teacher's house', where the pupils were always under the canopy of the preceptor to protect them (*guruṇā śiṣyaś chatravacchādyaḥ śiṣyeṇa ca guruś chatravat paripālyaḥ*)[6]. Yājñavalkya also enjoins a *naiṣṭhika Brāhmaṇa*-a celibate all his life, to live with his Ācārya, and in the absence of the latter with his son, or wife, or even fire[7]. The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to an unsteady pupil, - known as *tīrthakāka* who, like a crow, wandered from teacher to teacher (*yo gurukulaṁ gatvā na ciramtiṣṭhati sa ucyate tīrthakāka iti*)[8]. There are references to pupils coming from teacher's place (*aupādhyāyakam* or *ācāryakam*)[9] which may imply that they were residing with him. The boarders were known as *ante-vāsin*[10], and the teacher, providing lodging, was called *ante-guru*[11]. Patañjali also refers to *daṇḍa-māṇavaka*—staff-pupils belonging to different

1. VI. 2. 36 p. 125. L. 12.
2. I. 1.20 p. 73. L. 26.
3. II. 2.18 p. 416. L. 15.
4. III. 2.14 p. 100. L. 8.
5. VI. 2.106 p. 421. L. 13.
6. IV. 2.62 p. 333. L. 1.
7. II. 49.
8. II. 1.42 p. 391. L. 7.
9. IV. 2.104 p. 295. L. 19.
10. IV. 3.104 p. 315. L. 22.
11. VI. 3.10 p. 145. L. 16.

schools, as for example, *Kāṇvā daṇḍa-māṇavakāḥ* and *Dākṣā daṇḍa māṇavakāḥ*[1], who were probably day scholars. *Daṇḍa* or staff was the common mark of pupilage, indicating the school to which the pupils belonged. Sometimes this mark of pupilage was associated with a particular region, as for instance, *Pañcālā māṇavakāḥ*[2]. It was, really, the name and fame of the teacher that attracted students from different places. A teacher, approached from a distance of a hunderd yojanas, was known as *yaujana śatiko guru* (*yojanaśatād abhigamanam arhati)*[3]. There is no information on the question of fees, but it was charged is some form; and in certain cases, probably, paid in advance[4]. Sometimes it was the maternal uncle (*mātulaka*) who imparted instructions to the nephew (*upādhyāyasya śiṣyo mātulasya bhāgineya*)[5].

The time of study differed according to the age, and circumstances. The initiation started early in spring (*vasanto 'dhyanam*)[6], as is the practice even now in India, but in the light of the *Kāśikā* it can be suggested that Patañjali was referring to the study of literature dealing with Vasanta (*Vāsantikaḥ*)[7]. As a rule, students studied in the day time, but there are references to studious ones working at night as well (*imakābhyām chātrābhyām rātrir adhītā atho ābhyām ahar apy adhītam*)[8]. The Bhāṣyakāra also mentions a student studying in a quiet place at night after protecting the light from the wind (*tathā kārīṣo 'gnir nivāta ekānte suprajvalito 'dhyayanam prayojayati*)[9]. Light was produced by burning dried cow-dung (*kārīṣa*) and it was necessary to sit in a quiet corner, lest the strong wind might cause fire in the hut. Though there are many

1. IV. 2.102 p. 297. L. 5.
2. IV. 1.165 p. 267. L. 9.
3. V. 1.74 p. 308. L. 17.
4. *Milindapañha* p. 1.
5. III. 3.18 p. 145. L. 1.
6. IV. 2.63 p 284. L. 21.
7. p. 308.
8. II. 4.32 p. 481. L. 10.
9. III. 1.26 p. 33. L. 8.

references[1] to lamps in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the pupils had, perhaps, no money to pay for the oil.

Methods of Study :

The methods, too, varied according to the subjects, as for example, the rote one was most suitable in Vedic studies. Pāṇini, in his Sūtra *Śrotriyaṁś chando'dhīte*[2], has referred to the Śrotriyas, called Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāśikā*, who learnt by heart the Chandas or Vedas. In this connection, Patañjali mentions reading aloud (*uccair adhīyāna nīcair adhīyāna)*[3]. This was done according to the prescribed rules (*upayukta māṇavakā ity ucyante ya ete niyamapūrvakam ādhītavanto bhavanti)*[4]. The Ācārya taught his pupils in a friendly way *(tad ācāryaḥ suhṛdbhūtvānv ācaṣṭe)*[5]. As pointed out by Patañjali, the Vedic scholar recited verses beginning with *Śaṁ*, a term expressing auspiciousness, in order of Sections (*prapāṭhaka*) after uttering the sacred syllable *Om* (*om ity uktvā vṛttāntaśaḥ śam ity evamādīn śabdān paṭhanti)*[6]. From this, one gets the imperession that the Vedic scholars were grown up and had a firm grounding in grammar which, in Patañjali's time, preceded Vedic studies. This enabled them to follow with ease the Vedic recensions in the light of the preceptor's comments. rather than exclusively committing verses to memory without properly understanding them. The earlier method, however, was not discouraged. Recitation, popularly known as *nipāṭha*[7], was done in company (*vyatipāṭha*)[8]. Doubts, if any, were removed by the commentary or interpretation of the teacher (*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na hi saṁdehād alakṣaṇam iti nityaparyāyavācino grahaṇam iti vyākhyāsyāmaḥ)*[9]. The ruling or

1. I. 1.49 p. 119. L. 9; II. 1.1 p. 359. L. 6 etc.
2. V. 2.84.
3. II. 1.2 p. 376, L. 7.
4. I. 4.29 p. 329. L. 11.
5. II. 4.32 p. 481. L. 3.
6. I. 1.1 p. 5, L. 6 f.
7. VII. 29 p. 283. L. 8.
8. I. 3.15 p. 278. L. 24.
9. I. 1.1 p. 6 LL. 27-28.

explanation, given by the teacher, was binding (*ācāryapravṛttir jñāpayati*)[1].

It is interesting to find emphasis laid on pronunciation and recitation (*vadāvada*)[2]. Those reading clearly were called *sādhvadhyāyin*, but others, rather slow, were known as *vilambitādhyāyin*[3]. There were some reciting with a sweet voice, like an Indian cuckoo (*kokilābhivyāhārī*[4]). Patañjali also mentions the preceptor slapping the young pupil for wrong pronunciation (*ya udātte kartavye 'nudāttaṁ karoti khaṇḍikopādhyāyas tasmai capeṭāṁ dadāti*[5]. A *khaṇḍika upādhyaya* taught only those pupils who learnt section by section, and, it seems, he had to manage with comparatively young boys who could be slapped but not the older ones who were taught in a friendly manner.

There is no reference to examination in texts, but it is probably implied in the two *Sūtras* of Pāṇini - *Karmādhyayane vṛttam* and *Bahvacpūrvapadāṭ ṭhac*[6]. The two Sūtras explain the use of the affix *ṭhak* in the sense of this is his act occuring in study', after a word in the first case in construction, if such word is an action (*karma*) which occured *(vṛttam)* in study (*adhyayana*); or, according to the next Sūtra, in the sense of 'this is whose act occuring in study' after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member. Explaining this further, the *Kāśikā* classifies[7] students on the basis of errors, commited in recitation at the time of the examination (*yasya adhyayane niyuktasya parīkṣākāle paṭhataḥ)*, as for instance, *aikānyika*, committing only one mistake; *dvaiyānyika*-two mistakes; and *traiyānyika*-three mistakes. But there were some who committed twelve mistakes (*dvādaśānyika*); and it needed a good many recitations to avoid lapses

1. I. 1.2 p. 15 L. 25.
2. VI. 1. 12 p. 17. L. 6.
3. VI. 2. 80 p. 131. L. 25.
4. *Ibid.* L. 21.
5. I. 1.1 p. 41. LL. 23—24.
6. IV. 4. 63&64.
7. P. 367.

in pronunciation. The other Sūtra - *Saṁkhyāyāḥ saṁjñāsaṁghasūtrādhyayaneṣu*,[1] referring to the affixes under V. I. 182, connoting a word which signified a numeral in the sense of 'this is its measure', when the word, so formed, means 'a name, multitude, a book, or a fixed way and method of study', mentions the number of times a subject was studied, as for example, five times (*adhyayane pañcako ' dhītaḥ*)[2]. This point is not stressed by Patañjali.

In another Sūtra *tad adhte tad Veda*[3], which refers to the use of the affix *aṇ* after a word, denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that' or 'who understands that', the Bhāṣyakāra in his gloss has clarified it by pointing out that *adhīte* refers to studies depending on memory - where the rote system was adopted. He calls such a pupil *sampāṭham paṭhati*[4] viz. one who simply commits the texts to memory without understanding the the meaning. The other way was by grasping the contents, rather than letters in recitation (*kaścic ca vetti na ca saṁpāṭham paṭhati*). It is, therefore, clear that there was room for proper thinking and understanding, commended earlier by Yāska[5], in his *Nirukta*, who compared cramming like dry logs of wood on an extinguished fire which can never illuminate.

Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil:—

The relations between the two were cordial, but failings on both sides were not wanting. The academic relations, more filial in nature, commenced when the preceptor, seriously upholding the sanctity of learning, started his instructions with *Kuśa* grass in his hand, and at an auspicious moment facing the east. The pupil was required to acquire the affection of his teacher for his own welfare, both in this world and in the life after (*ye tāvad ete guru - śuśrūṣavo*

1. V. 1. 58.
2. *Kāśikā* p. 392.
3. IV. 2. 59.
4. IV. 2. 59 p. 283, L. 10.
5. *Ibid.*, LL. 10—11

nāma te 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante pāralaukikaṁ ca no bhavişyati iha ca naḥ prīto gurur adhyāpayişyati iti[1]). The *Smṛtis* also enjoin upon the pupil to show reverence towards his preceptor. According to Yājñavalkya[2], he should serve or worship the prceptor for the sake of learning, and be attentive, while Manu has prescribed[3] service to the teacher, both as a student obedient to him, and even after the period of studentship. At another place, Patañjali refers to a pupil living in the village for the sake of his preceptor and his learning (*grāme gurunimittam vasāmaḥ - adhyayananimittaṁ vasāma iti*)[4].

With begging bowl in his hands, the pupil went out on rounds (*kamaṇḍalu-pāṇiṁ chātram adrākṣīd iti*)[5], to the householders for food and other necessities (*upādhyāyasya śişyo yājyakulāni gatvāgrāsānādīni labhate)*[6]. According to Yājñavalkya, the pupil presented his alms to the preceptor (*labdhaṁ tasmai nivedayet*)[7]. Some undesirables also stayed with the teacher. Patañjali has referred to such pupils, studying the work of Pāṇini for the sake of securing boiled rice (*odana-pāṇinīyāḥ*), but the Rauḍhīyas were desirous of getting ghee (*ghṛta-rauḍhīyaḥ*), and the Cārāyaṇīyās stayed for blankets (*kambala cārāyaṇīyāḥ*)[8]. These may have been the nick-names of these respective schools; but there were cases of students with little desire for learning, and they occasionally played truant. They tried to avoid their presence, but, when noticed by the teacher, they were discomfited (*katham upādhyāyād antardhatta iti-paśyaty ayaṁ yadi māṁ upādhyāyaḥ paśyati dhruvam prekṣṇam upā-lambho veti*)[9]. Such a thing was discouraged. The pupil with

1. III. 1. 26 p. 36, LL. 1—2.
2. II. 26·
3. II. 71, 72.
4. I. 1.57 p. 148. L. 22.
5. I. 4.84 p. 347. L. 17.
6. I. 1.55 p. 133. L. 25.
7. II. 27.
8. I. 1.73 p. 190. L. 2.
9. I. 4.28 p. 329. L. 2.

a smile looked beautiful (*hasanaṁ chātrasya śobhanam*)[1]. Yājñavalkya prescribes[2] the following qualities in a student who should be taught according to *Dharma* : He should be grateful, non-hating, intelligent, pure, healthy, non-envious, honest, energetic, kindred, and should either impart knowledge or make a present of money. These qualities seemed necessary for a better understanding between the Preceptor and the Pupil.

In cases of students committing errors, or for wilful default, the teacher exercised his authority of punishing him for the welfare of the latter :-(*sāmṛtaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na viṣokṣitaiḥ-lāḍanāśrayiṇo doṣās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāḥ*)[3]. Sometimes the teacher was harsh and was known as *dāruṇādhyāpaka*, but a well-disposed one was called *śobhano'dhyāpaka*[4]. An excellent or superior teacher was designated *kāṣṭhādhyāpaka*[5]. The pupils were also known according to their talents and disposition, as for example, a fiery boy (*agnirmāṇavaka*)[6], a talkative one (*śabdakāry ayam māṇavaka*)[7], and a wicked pupil (*māṇavaka jaṭilakābhirūpa*), in contrast to a harsh teacher (*jaṭilakādhyāpaka*)[8]. These may be extreme cases, but generally the teacher was friendly and well-disposed towards his pupils. Despite the offering of equal opportunities, the results varied according to the intelligence of the pupils (*samānam īhamānānām adhīyānānāṁ ca kecid arthair yujyante 'pare na*)[9].

The *Mahābhāṣya* also refers to the wife of the teacher (*upādhyāyī*)[10] or (*upādhyāyanī*)[11], but there is no reference to the relation

1. III. 1.94 p. 80. L. 19.
2. I. 28. *kṛtajñ-ādrohi - medhāvī-śucikalyānas ūyakaḥ*
   adhyāpyāḥ sādhuśaktāptasvārthadā dharmatas tv ime.
3. VIII. 1.8 p. 367. LL. 12-13.
4. VIII. 1.67 p. 379. LL. 19; 17.
5. VIII. 1.68 p. 380. L. 13.
6. VIII. 1.12 p. 368. L. 17.
7. I. 1.1 p. 1. L. 13.
8. I. 2.32 p. 209. LL. 20,21.
9. I. 1.5 p. 31. L. 22.
10. III. 2.21. p. 147. L. 20.
11. IV. 1.49 p. 220. L. 21.

that existed between her and the pupil. As a member of the family, the pupil was expected to pay her equal reverence. Patañjali does not mention the qualities necessary in a teacher and his pupil, as we find in the *Milindapañha*[1], nor is there any reference to hardships connected with student's life which, too, are mentioned in Buddhist literature[2]. He has classed the teachers into : *Ācārya*[3]; *Guru*[4], *Śikṣaka*[5] and *Upādhyāya*[6]. Though they appear to be synonymous, there was, according to the Smṛti literature, some difference in their respective functions. Yājñavalkya[7] distinguishes the two terms, *Guru* and *Ācārya*; the former performed all the ceremonies even before the birth of the child till his initiation, but the latter initiated him into Vedic studies after performing the *Upanayana* ceremony. The position of the *Upādhyāya* was different. According to the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*,[8] he taught only a portion *(khaṇḍa)*, but, as Manu[9] suggests, for his livelihood (*vṛttyartham*). The status of the *Śikṣaka* appears to be analogous. As regards the different classes of students, we have already referred to the day scholars, and boarders (*antevāsin*). It may now be interesting to notice the types of schools named after the teachers, and the pupils who upheld the traditions of their respective schools.

Different schools -named after the teachers - Gotras and Caraṇas:—

The pupils were known after the teachers to whom they were attached. According to Pāṇini's Sūtra: *ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsī* (VI. 2. 36) - when a scholar is named by an epithet, derived from the name of his teacher, that name is an *ācāryopasarjana*. In

1. p. 94.
2. Ibid., p. 315: *Mahāvagga* I. 25-26.
3. IV. 3.131 p. 320. L. 9.
4. I. 2.32 p. 208. L. 19.
5. I. 2.64 p. 242. L. 25.
6. VI. 3.79 p. 170. L. 17.
7. I. 34. *Sa gurur yaḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā vedam asmai pravacchati upanīya dadad vedam ācāryaḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ.*
8. I 35. *ekadeśam upādhyāya..*
9. II. 141. *Yo'dhyāpayati vṛttyartham upādhyāyaḥ sa ucyate*

this class, Patañjali has mentioned the *dvanda* compound—*Āpiśalap-āṇinīya vyāḍīyagautamīyāḥ*[1] - meaning the students belonging to the schools of Āpiśala and Pāṇini; and Vyāḍi and Gautama. At another place, he has referred to the relation of schools with gotras, as for example, in *asti no gargaiḥ sambandaḥ - asti no vatsaiḥ sambandha iti*)[2]. Both, Pāṇini and Patañjali, have mentioned a number of gotras which appear to have been based on Vedic mantras, religious traditions and sacrificial customs associated with a particular sage and later on adopted by all his followers. Patriarchal hegemony was recognized, and the head of the *gotra* was the connecting link to all those having physical and spiritual ties with that gotra. Different names to the succeeding pedigrees are also to be traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*[3], as for instance: Garga, his son Gārgi, grandson Gārgyaḥ and the great grandsons called Gārgyāyaṇas.

Caraṇa:—

This term, occurring in the compound *caraṇasambandha*, has the sense of *nivāsa* (*caraṇasambandhena nivāsalakṣaṇo*)[4]. Here Patañjali has quoted three *caraṇas* dwelling in the east (*trayaḥ prācyāḥ*), three in the west (*traya udīcyāḥ*), and three in the middle (*trayo mādhyamāḥ*). The position of the *Caraṇas*, often considered as synonymous with the Śākhās (cf. Nirukta - *Sarvacaraṇānam* explained by *Sarvaśākhānam*, I. 17), engaged the attention of the late Professor Max Muller[5] who explained the difference between these two terms, as well as with the *Pariṣad*, which is also mentioned by Patañjali[6]. According to the late Professor, *Śākhā* signified the various editions, or, more properly, the various traditions, that branched off from each of the three original branches of the Veda. In the latter sense, despite its similarity with *Caraṇa*, there was an

1. VI. 2. 36 p. 125. L. 11.
2. II. 1. 1 p. 366. L. 3.
3. IV. 1. 93 p. 247. L. 22; IV. 1. 1 p. 193. L. 14.
4. IV. 2. 138. p. 301. L. 5.
5. *Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 124 f.
6. III. 3. 108 p. 155 L. 10.

important difference, as we notice *śākhām adhīte* but never *caraṇam adhīte*, and still less *Pariṣadam adhīte*. *Śākhā*, originally meant a literary work, and that *Caraṇa* did not. The use of the term *śākhā* sometimes in the sense of *Caraṇa* was due to the fact that the former did not exist as written books, but only in traditions of the *Caraṇas*; each member of the latter representing, what should be called, the copy of a book. In a passage from Jagaddhara's commentary on *Mālatimādhava*, *Caraṇa* is said to mean a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain *śākhā* of the Veda. and who have in this manner become one body (*Caraṇaśabdaḥ śākhāviśeṣādhyayan-aparaikatāpanna - janasaṁghavācī*)[1]. He also referred to Pāṇini mentioning *Caraṇas*, as constituting a multitude - that is comprising a number of followers (*Caraṇebhyoḥ dharmavat - samūhārthe*)[2]. In a *vārttika* on IV. 1. 63, even women are mentioned, as belonging to a *Caraṇa*, as for example, *Kaṭhī*[3] was the wife or daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the *Caraṇa* or read the *śākhās* of the Kaṭhas. A *Śākhā*- a portion of the Śruti, could not properly include law books, but the followers of certain *Śākhās* could, in course of time, adopt a code of law binding on their *Caraṇa* only, which naturally, went after the name of their group. Thus *Kāṭhakam* could be used not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the Kaṭhas. According to Patañjali, these sacred traditions were known as *Āmnāya*, as for instance, the doctrines and traditions, associated with the school of Kaṭha were described as *Kaṭhākam* (*kaṭhānām dharma ā - mnāyo vā kāṭhakam*)[4]. Others mentioned in this context are : *Kālāpakam, Maudakam* and *Paippalādakam*. Even the *Prātiśākhyas* were named according to *Caraṇas*, and they were the exclusive property of the readers of certain *Śākhās*, more than even the *Kuladharmas* or family laws. New *Caraṇas*, in later times, were also founded on sacred texts peculiar to themselves.

1. *Max Muller*: *Op. cit.*
2. IV. 2. 46.
3. VI. 3. 42 p. 157. L. 13.
4. IV. 3.120 p. 319. L. 5.

As regards the position of a *Pariṣad*, although every *prātiśākhya* could be called a *Pārṣada* (cf. Pāṇ. IV. 3. 123), viz, a work belonging to a *Pariṣad*, not every *Pārṣada* could be called a *Prātiśākhya* except those which contained the rules of pronunciation for a popular *śākhā* or text of the Vedic hymns, studied and taught in certain *Pariṣads*. In this connection, may be cited the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[1] in which there is a reference to Śvetaketu's visit to the *Pariṣad* of the Pāñcālas.

With this explanation of the terms, serving as the background for a proper understanding, we may refer to the actual references to such schools in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The main grammatical schools were those of *Āpiśali*,[2] *Pāṇini*,[3] *Vyāḍi*,[4] *Śākalya*,[5] *Kuṇaravāḍava*,[6] *Sauvāśva*[7] and *Śākaṭāyana*[8]. Amongst the Vedic schools were those of the Black Yajurveda (*Kāṭhakam*), and *Kālāpakam* which were very popular in different villages (*grāme grāme Kāṭhakaṁ Kālāpakaṁ ca procyate*),[9] the school of *Varatantu* (*Vāratantavīyāḥ*) and that of Tittiri (*Taittirīyāḥ*)[10] from the Black *Yajurveda*, and *Paippalādaka*,[11] a recension of the *Atharvaveda*.

Other schools, mentioned by Patañjali, including those of a specialized nature, were *Yājñikas*, *Bahvṛcas*, *Aukthikas* and *Mīmāṁsakas*.[12] The first one consisted of those who were well-up in rituals, but they were equally proficient in grammar as Patañjali called them *vaiyākaraṇas*. The members of the second school were familiar with

1. VI. 2.
2. IV. 2.45 p. 281. L. 3.
3. I. 1.20 p. 75. L. 3.
4. I. 2.64 p. 244. L. 8.
5. I. 1.18 p. 72. L. 8.
6. VII. 3.1 p. 317, L. 9.
7. VI. 1.127 p. 89. L. 22.
8. III. 2.1 p. 120. L. 21.
9. IV. 3.101. p. 315. L. 11.
10. IV. 2 66 p. 286. L. 9.
11. IV. 1.1 p. 195. L. 25.
12. II. 2.29 p. 430. L. 20.

the Ṛg-Veda and could represent in sacrificial ceremonies. The Aukthikas studied the *Ukthas*-a kind of recitation, or certain verses, forming a sub-division of the Śāstras, recited in contra distinction to the *Śāman* verses which are sung, and *Yajñas*, or muttered sacrificial formulas.[1] The last school was noted for its members following the *Mīmāṁsā* principles. According to Max Muller,[2] the Brāhmaṇas cared for the divine authority of the Śrutis and implicitly maintained the doctrines of the Ṛṣis in their original simplicity and purity. In philosophical discussions, they allowed the greatest possible freedom, and, although, at first only three philosophical systems were admitted as orthodox, the two Mīmāṁsās and Nyāya, their number was soon raised to six so as to include the Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya and Yoga schools. Keith suggested[3] that from Medhātithi onwards, use is made of Mīmāṁsā principles to overcome legal difficulties which arose from the recognition in the law schools of many conflicting texts as all having authority, just as the Vedic texts, before the compilers of the Mīmāṁsā presented innumerable difficulties.

There were certain other schools, based on gotras or teachers, like those of Upagu - a pupil of that school was known as *Aupagavīya*,[4] and a young girl was called *Aupagavī māṇavikā*,[5] *Kāpiñjali*, and *Kaulīni*; their pupils were respectively called *Kāpiñjalāḥ*[6] and *Kaulīnāḥ*. There were some other schools of *Kāṇvyāyana* (*Kāṇvāyana*), the descendants of Kāṇva; the pupils of this school were known as *Kāṇvyāyanīyāḥ*.[7] The *Śālaṅkāḥ*[8] belonged to the school of Śālaṅki, and the other ones were : *Bhāradvājīyāḥ*,[9] *Śākalāḥ*,[10]

1. Monier Williams; *Sans. Eng. Dict.* p. 726.
2. Op. cit. p. 78.
3. His. San. Lit. p. 475.
4. IV. 1.90. p. 243. L. 5.
5. IV. 1.93 p. 247. L. 24.
6. IV. 1.90 p. 243. L. 18;
7. IV. 1.165 p. 267. L. 14.
8. IV. 1.90 p. 244. L. 25.
9. IV. 1.79 p. 234. L. 19.
10. IV. 1 18 p. 213. L. 7.

Audameghāḥ (*audamedhyāśchātrā audameghāḥ*),[1] *Audulomi*,[2] *Gārgī-yā*, *Vātsīyāḥ*[3] and *Kāśyapāḥ*[4] associated with their respective gotras. The *Kraudāḥ*[5] traced their descent from Kruḍa. There are also references to *Kauśikinaḥ* and *Pārāśarinaḥ*.[6] Patañjali mentions several other schools as welll - *Taumburavinaḥ*, *Hāridraviṇaḥ*, *Āruṇinaḥ*, *Śādyāyaninaḥ* and *Bhāllavinaḥ*,[7] *Māṭharāḥ*[8] and *Paiṅgalakāṇvāḥ*.[9] Sometimes the pupils studied at their father-in-law's house, and they were known as *śvāśureryūnaś chātrāḥ śvāśurāḥ*.[10]

Some professional schools are also noticed by Patañjali, as for instance, those of actors (*śailālin*),[11] and players on instruments (*mārdaṅgika*).[12] The references to musical instruments and play-acting in the *Mahābhāṣya* definitely suggests the existence of such schools which imparted instructions in play-acting and playing on instruments. On this point, Kauṭilya[13] has also referred to the arrangements for higher teaching for the production of great teachers. There were also schools or teachers who imparted instructions in military subjects (*kṣātravidyā*)[14], or practical training in the use of sword (*asibhir yuddham*), and cavalry (*aśvair yuddham*)[15]. It is not certain about the provisions made for teaching subjects like, Chiromancy (*āṅgavidyā*), and understanding the signs of crows (*vāyasa-vidyā*), cows and horses (*golakṣaṇa - aśvalakṣaṇa*); or in *Itihāsa* -

1. IV. 1.78 p. 229. L. 25.
2. IV. 1.78 p. 230. L. 5.
3. IV. 1 89 p. 240. L. 15.
4. Ibid., p. 271. L. 13.
5. IV. 2.66 p. 286. L. 12.
6. Ibid., L. 16.
7. IV. 2.104 p. 296. LL. 14-15.
8. II. 2.18 p. 452. L. 19.
9. I. 1.73 p. 190. L. 10.
10. IV. 1.90 p. 243. L. 98.
11. IV. 2.66 p. 286. L. 18.
12. IV. 4.55 p. 332. L. 4.
13. *Arthaśāstra* II. 27.
14. IV. 2.60 p. 284. L. 6.
15. V. 1.59 p. 356. L. 23,

historical legends, Pūraṇas, counting and accounting (*pariganaṇā*). There was room for elementary study (*varṇapāṭha*)[1], though there is no reference to the young teacher, popularly known as *dārakācārya*[2] in later literature.

Fees and Period of Study:

There is no reference to the fees paid to the teacher, either in a lump sum, or by part payment, though at one place Patañjali cites the gift of cows to the teacher (*upādhyāya gāṁ dadāti iti*)[3]. The question of fees, it seems, was not very important, because the diffusion of learning had no mercenary motive. It was the duty of the householders to meet the requirements of the Preceptor and his family, as well as his pupils, but the Upādhyāya, whom Patañjali has called *Khaṇḍikopādhyāya*, in the light of *Manusmṛti*,[4] did charge for imparting instructions in only a portion of the Veda, or their Aṅgas. The day scholars, were expected to pay fees in cash, or in kind, so that the teacher could maintain himself and his family. The study of a portion, according to the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[5] was also fruitful. There is no reference to the period of study, but, as suggested by Yājñavalkya[6], for each Veda the Brahmacarya should be for twelve years or five, or, as some say, till they are completely acquired. Manu suggests[7] that a student, who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship, shall enter the order of householder. Patañjali looks with contempt upon those entering domestic life without completing the period of study. It, therefore, seems that there was some prescribed period of study, though the actual number of years are not mentioned.

1. I. 1.69 p. 178. L. 20.
2. *Lalitavistara* p. 144.
3. I. 4.32 p. 330. L. 13.
4. II. 141.
5. II. 47.
6. II. 36.
7. III. 2.

Writing:

Despite insistence on the rote method, writing was in use, and the Greek script is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Yavanānīlipi*)[1]. It is later on referred to as one of the 64 scripts in which the Śākyan prince Gautama was proficient.[2] The *Mahāvastu* has also mentioned[3] *Yāvanī*, besides other scripts - *Puṣkarasārī*, *Kharoṣṭī* (*Kharoṣṭhī*), *Brāhmī*, *Kūṭalipī*, *Śaktinlipī*, *Lekhālipī* and *Mudrālipī* or seal writing. It is certain that Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī were popular scripts in that period, though the use of the former two was confined to North-West India.

Female Education :

In the *Mahābhāṣya* there are references to *Upādhyāyā*, *Upādhyāyī*[4] and *Upādhyāyanī*.[5] The last word is translated by Monier Williams[6] as 'the wife of a teacher' while the former two, probably, denoted a female teacher (*upetyādhīyate tasyā upādhyāyī upādhyāyā*). Patañjali also refers to a young girl of the *Aupagavī* school (*Aupagavī māṇavikā*)[7] and a Brāhmaṇī studying Kāśakṛtsnī doctrines (*Kāśakṛtsnīm adhīte Kāśakṛtsnā Brāhmaṇī*).[8] There are two other terms in the *Mahābhāṣya* - *Śāktīkī* and *Yāṣṭīkī*[9] - both, being synonymous, mean 'female lance or spear-holder'. Does it signify that martial education was imparted to ladies ? One is doubtful on this point, but, as regards their literary education, references from earlier literature[10] suggest initiation of girls for education before marriage. The eminence of Ghoṣā and Lopamudrā is evident from the Ṛg-Veda, and

1. IV. 1.49 p. 220, L. 19.
2. *Lalitavistara*. p. 125.
3. Vol. I. p 135.
4. III. 3.21 p. 147, L. 20.
5. IV. 1.49 p. 220, L. 21.
6. Op. cit. p. 213.
7. IV. 1.93 p. 247. L. 24.
8. IV. 1.14 p. 206. L. 9.
9. IV. 1.15 p. 209. L. 10
10. Cf. RV. X. 5. 18.

in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[1], there is a ritual for the benefit of a person, anxious for the birth of a daughter, who could distinguish herself as a scholar in due course. Even the deeper problems of philosophy were probed into by women like Maitreyī and Gārgī, though such a thing was getting unpopular with the passage of time. According to Megasthenes,[2] the Brāhmaṇas did not communicate knowledge of their philosophy to their wives, lest they leave home. Manu permits[3] the *upanayana* of girls, provided the Vedic mantras for the occasion are not recited.

In the light of these obervations, it is not surprising to notice Patañjali's reference to female education. The *Mahāvastu* has quoted two references[4] to female education - that of a banker's daughter being brought up as an ascetic, and she was competent enough to discuss śāstras, and another girl who belonged to the artizan class but was talented.

Lastly, the Bhāṣyakāra has referred to a handsome dark complexioned person who was conversant with every branch of learning, and was known as *ḍittha*.[5] This reference may suggest that there was scope for learning even for non-Aryans who were dark-complexioned, as Patañjali is very particular about the complexion of the Brāhmaṇas which he has described in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Assemblies :

The word denoting learned bodies is *Pariṣad* but Patañjali has used the form *Pariṣat*.[6] Pāṇini refers to the use of the affix *ṇya* after the word *Pariṣad* in the sense of 'who assembles there (*Pariṣado*

1. VI. 4.17.
2. Frag. XLI - Op. cit.
3. II. 66.
4. Vol. II. p. 53; Vol. III. p. 391.
5. V. 1.119 p. 367, L. 20.
6. III. 3.108 p. 155, L. 10.

nyaḥ bhavati sama vāyān samavaiti ity etasmin viṣaye).[1] Its constitution is referred to by Yājñavalkya,[2] who suggests that four persons, who knew the Vedas and the Dharmas, or only the three sciences, constituted a *Pariṣad.* "What it says is Dharma, or that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares." It appears that the institution of *Pariṣad* regulated the academic activities of different groups, or schools, and served as a means for the development and propagation of learning. The *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*[3] mentions a teacher with his *Pariṣad.*

We have taken into account the educational system in the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. The objects of study, with particular reference to grammar in the Preamble to his work - were many, but the ultimate aim was to seek the highest knowledge. It could be made perfect, not only at the time of receiving instruction, but also through assimilation, teaching and application. The continuous study at different periods made an enthusiastic student proficient in the understanding and interpretation of Vedic mantras at appropriate occasions. The subjects of study were, besides grammar which preceded Vedic studies, the four Vedas with six Aṅgas, their mysteries, a hundred Śākhās of the Yajur-Veda, and the Sāma-Veda with its thousand paths, treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic, Epics, Purāṇas and Medicine. Other studies included Saṁgraha, Metrics, Dharmaśāstra, Astrology, and a comparative study of all doctrines (*sarva-tantra*), and popular subjects like the tales of Sumanottarā and Vāsavadattā. The Smṛtis, Chiromancy and the Science of animals are also mentioned. The place and time of study varied, though it was generally the home of the teacher, where the over-zealous pupils studied by the light of the cow dung fire in a quiet corner at night. There were also day scholars, and others who had partial instructions. The method of study was the rote system, but there was scope for discussion and interpretation for a

1. IV. 4.44. *Kāśikā* p. 364.
2. I. 9.
3. III. 2. 40.

proper understanding of the texts. Emphasis was laid on pronunciation, and, probably, there were examinations in recitations. The relations between the Preceptor and his pupils were very cordial - each side bearing his responsibility, but there were occasional lapses, like, the student running away due to the harshness of the teacher. We also mentioned the names of different schools, and referred to fees and period of study. Only the Khaṇḍika teachers charged for their instructions; others seem to be doing that freely, depending on the householders who met their requirements, and whatever the parting student paid as *gurudakṣiṇā* on the completion of his education. Lastly, we referred to writing, female education, and the probable scope of study for non-Aryans, and the *Pariṣads* or assemblies. The reference to the *Yavanānī* or the Greek script is not surprising, since Patañjali refers to the settlements of the Yavanas. In the light of the above study of the educational life in that period, it may be suggested that education was planned on the ancient model which laid stress on proper understanding and interpretation, without completely giving up cramming which was necessary in certain cases.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

India in the time of Patañjali witnessed the revival of Vedic sacrifices, as is evident from the references, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the Ayodhyā inscription recording two horse sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The period was equally notable for the evolution of the Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva cult which had originated earlier. These religious factors did not interfere with the Śramaṇa religions - Buddhism and Jainism. The famous stūpas at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, the former with its railing and toraṇas, and the latter with the railing alone, testify to the unhampered activities of the Buddhists who created endowments in that period. It is, however, supposed on the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*,[1] that the Śuṅga monarch tried to undo the work done by Aśoka for Buddhism with a view to rising in the esteem of the Brāhmaṇas. This is a short-sighted view. The Brahmanical Śuṅga Emperor was well-known for his horse sacrifices, rather than for his attempt to destroy Buddhism. There is nothing to support the presumption of Dr. Bagchi[2] that the Greek invasion was inspired by the anti-Buddhist attitude of this monarch. It is unlikely that Puṣyamitra would have permitted these Buddhist dedications if he was an antagonist. The Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga reveals the prosperity of Jainism in Kaliṅga. There also flourished the ascetic orders, some of which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. In this connection, it is interesting to study some of the inscriptions which corroborate the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this subject,

1. pp. 433-4.
2. I. H. Q. Vol XXII. 1946 p. 81. ff.

with particular reference to the Bhāgavata cult. With this short introduction as the background, let us consider the different aspects of the religious life and conditions in that period.

Revival of Vedic Sacrifices :

In the preamble to his work, the Bhāṣyakāra, while stressing the need for the study of grammar, also refers to the study of Yājñika Śāstra (*Yājñikāḥ śāstreṇa anuvidadhate*).[1] It is well-known that Aśoka had discouraged sacrifices of animals, but they were revived, and perhaps with greater enthusiasm, in the time of Puṣyamitra. Patañjali also quotes in the *Mahābhāṣya* references to sacrifices, performed for this Brahmanical ruler (*iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ;*[2] *Puṣyamitro yajate yājakā yājayantīti*).[3] This is supported by the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadava which records the performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices by Puṣyamitra (*dviraśvamedha yājinaḥ - senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya*)[4] and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.[5] The *Mahābhāṣya* also refers to different types of sacrifices: *Agniṣṭoma, Rājasuya, Vājapeya*, and the domestic ones - *Pākayajña* or *Pañcayajña*, accessories needed in such sacrifices, their duration and fruits that accrued from their performances, and lastly the priests required for them, who received handsome *dakṣiṇās*. Though the material, furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* on this point, is not as much as one finds in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, still it is enough to suggest the revival of such sacrifices in that period. Patañjali refers to persons unqualified for this purpose (*yājñika-pāśa*),[6] and also mentions the amount of *dakṣiṇā*, the sacrificial fee given to the Brāhmāṇas - sometimes the gelded bull (*mahānirasṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate*):[7] but occasionally the same cow passed on a thousand times (*sahasrakṛtvo dattvā tayā sarve*

1. I. 1.1 p. 9. L. 17.
2 III. 2. 123 p. 123. L. 3.
3. III. 1.26 p. 26. p. 34. L. 2.
4. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X. p. 203. L. 2.
5. Act V.
6. V. 3.47 p. 411. L. 6.
7. VI. 2.38 p. 125. L. 21.

te sahasradakṣiṇāḥ sampannāḥ).[1] This may be an exaggeration but it is not unusual for a Brāhmaṇa to dispose of the cow which he has received from his *yajamāna*, and the same is purchased again for that purpose.

Types of Vedic Sacrifices :

Patañjali mentions *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*, besides the domestic sacrifices. The first one is mentioned several times[2] and the merits accruing from its performance are also enumerated. This sarcrifice is an ancient one mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*,[3] and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[4] As the simplest and the most common of soma-sacrifice, it required the immolation of single goat, a he-goat to Agni and the chanting of twelve stotras, viz. the *Bahish-Pavamāna* and four *Ājya-stotras* at the morning sacrifice; the *Mādhyamdina-pavamāna* and four *pṛṣṭhastotras* at the mid-day service; the *Tritīya* or *Ārbhava - pavamāna*, and the *Agniṣṭoma-sāman* at the evening service. The last named chant gave its name to the sacrifice which is often explained as the *Agniṣṭoma-saṁsthās kratuḥ* or the sacrifice concluding with Agni's praise.[5] The *Mahābhāṣya* does not mention changes, if any, made in the sacrifice of the animal. It's time of performance, left vague in earlier texts, is unaccounted for by Patañjali. Keith doubted the views expressed by Hillebrandt, that it was the spring festival, celebrated at the new or full moon, which marked the beginning of the year, when a nectar of the gods was offered to them in the shape of King Soma[6]. It would be out of place to describe here in detail this Vedic ritual which seems to have been suspended till it was revived again.

1. I. 1.2 p. 17. L. 27.
2. IV. 3.66 p. 312· LL. 4, 7: III. 4.' p. 168 L. 15 etc.
3. IX. 9.2; XI. 9.7.
4. III. 7.1. 13.
5. S. B. E. Vol. XLI. p. xiii.
6. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 327; cf. also E. R. E. Vol. 12, p. 795 and ref.

The Royal Consecration ceremony, known as the *Rājasūya yajña*[1] was performed for the purpose of conferring powers on the new King. *Abhiṣecanīya,* as the name of a rite included in the *Rājasūya,* is mentioned in the White *Yajurveda,* and in the three *Saṁhitas* of Black *Yajurveda,* as well as in several *Brāhmaṇas,* and the Śrauta ritual of all the four Vedas. The last book of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has *abhiṣeka* itself for its main topic. The details of the inauguration ceremony, as described in the Sanskrit literature, may be out of place here, but, according to Goldstucker,[2] the Vaidika ceremony had undergone various modifications, and the inauguration ceremony at the Pauranic period had but little affinity with the Vaidika rite. F. W. Thomas suggested[3] that there were also special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old Śrauta rituals, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to Kṣatriya rites. Patañjali has not mentioned the details of this sacrificial rite which was certainly performed with the consecration of the Brahmanical Śuṅga ruler. A distinction is drawn between the *Rājasūya,* an elaborate ritual prescribed for Kṣatriya King desirous of paramountcy, and *Abhiṣeka* which was a necessary act of State including priestly rites. The *Rājasūya,* on the other hand, was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a set object and included a ceremony of consecration. It displayed many popular elements in character with the great nobles and office-bearers playing an important part.

The *Vājapeya,* referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra,[4] is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*[5] and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,*[6] and fully described in the Śrauta ritual of all the Vedas. The object, and the persons entitled to perform it, have been discussed by earlier authorities.

1. V. 3.66 p. 312. LL. 4, 8, 12.
2. *Sanskrit Dictionary* p. 280.
3. E. R. E. Vol. I. p. 21 f. and all Ref.
4. IV. 3.66 p. 312. LL. 5, 8, 12.
5. XI. 7.7.
6. III. 41.1.

According to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[1], it was performed by one desiring supremacy (*ādhipatyakāma*), the *Śāṅkhāyana* gives, instead, one desiring abundance of food (*annādya*) and the *Lāṭyāyana* requires it for one promoted by brāhmaṇas and kings (*yām brāhmaṇā rājānaś ca puraskurvīran sa vājapeyena yajet*). According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] the rite originated with Indra and Bṛhaspati, who, with the aid of *Savitṛ* won Prajāpati. The reasonable solution, as suggested by Eggeling and Hillebrandt[3] is that *Vājapeya* was originally general for all ranks which severally had more special rites, the *Rājasūya, Bṛhaspatisava, Sthapatisava, Grāmaṇīsava* etc etc. The features of the *Vājapeya* itself seem to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

In the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Agniṣṭoma* is associated with Brāhmaṇas (*tathā vede khalv api vasante Brāhmaṇo 'gniṣṭomādibhiḥ kratubhir yajet*)[4]. A bit of confusion, however, seems to have arisen regarding its curious position. Some texts place it above the *Rājasūya*, suggesting that the former conferred paramountcy, while the latter only kingship. Others make the *Vājapeya* appropriate for a paramount lord, and the *Rājasūya* for a universal monarch like Varuṇa[5]. Keith suggested[6] a simple solution by making the *Vājapeya* a rite which was performed by the King before the *Rājasūya*, and by the Brāhmaṇa before the *Bṛhaspatisava*, a festival celebrated on his appointment as a royal Purohita.

Next in order is the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which was actually performed by a Śuṅga monarch. Patañjali mentions it separately in three different references[7]. He also refers to *Aśvayūpa*, the post

1. IX. 9.1.
2. V. 1.1.
3. Cf. E. R. E. Vol. I. p. 21 ff and Ref.
4. VI. 1.84 p. 57. L. 21.
5. Cf. *Vedic Index*. Vol. II. p. 256 and Ref.
6. Op. cit. p. 340.
7. I. 4.9 p. 315. L. 9; III. 1.85 p. 64. L. 22; VII. 1.39 p. 256. L. 14.

to which the sacrificial horse was tied with its wooden ring at the top. It is evident that the horse-sacrifice was not in letters, but an accomplished fact in this period. It is probable that Patañjali may have joined in any of the two horse sacrifices as a priest.

Yūpas :

Patañjali also refers to Yūpas, in a number of references,[1] which were set up for binding the sacrificial animal. He has also mentioned the material of their make-*dāru* or *vaibhītaka* (Terminalia Bellerica) - (*yūpāyadāru*[2] - *vaibhītako yūpaḥ*)[3] These Yūpas were associated with Vedic sacrifices, and detailed instructions regarding their shape and size are mentioned in that literature. Thus, in the case of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice, its height should be 17 cubits, but in others it varied from five to fifteen cubits.[4] It octagonal shape is fancifully compared in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatrī* metre. The stem was never straight, but curved both at the top and at the centre; and at a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was a ring or *kaṭaka* technically called *caṣāla*, which is mentioned by the *Bhāṣyakāra*.[6] Though wooden Yūpas have not been found so far, numerous stone Yūpas have been discovered in Northern India, the earliest being of the time of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Vāsiṣka.[7] It is interesting to find in the *Gṛhya-Sūtra* and *Dharma Sūtra* literature sentiments contrary to the setting up of these Yūpas. Thus Vasiṣṭha,[8] Baudhāyana,[9] Viṣṇu[10], and Āśvalāyana[11] declared that the very touch of a Yūpa was as polluting

1. 1.1.1 p. 38. L. 17; II. 1.36 p. 390. L.9 etc.
2. II. 1.36 p. 390. L. 9.
3. V. 1.2 p. 338. L. 10.
4. *Kāt. Srau. Sūt.* VI. 3.
5, V. 2.1.5.
6. I. 1.1 p. 38. L. 17.
7. Vogel: *Catalogue - Mathurā Museum.* No. Q. 13.
8. IV. 37.
9. I. 5.9.5.
10. 22.69.
11. III. 6.8.

as that of a funeral pyre, or a woman in her courses. These views were, probably, not endorsed, as we find references to the Yūpas, and the actual performance of horse sacrifices in the time of Patañjali.

Domestic Sacrifices :

There are also references to domestic sacrifices, like, *Pākayajña*,[1] or *Pañca-mahā-yajña*[2]. The former, according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* was of three kinds-the *hutas* viz. the sacrifices offered over the fire; over something that is not the fire - *prahutas;* and the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas (*trayaḥ pākayajñā hutā agnau iyamānā anagnau prahutā brāhmaṇabhojane brāhmaṇihutāḥ*)[3]. Manu has mentioned four forms of this domestic sacrifice (*ye pākayajñāś catvāro-vidhiyajña saṃanvitāḥ*)[4]. According to the *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*[5], it denoted ceremonies connected with worldly life, but Max Muller suggested[6] that the general name of the sacrifices, performed according to the *Gṛhya Sūtras,* was *Pākayajña,* where *Pāka* symbolised either 'small' or 'good'. Gautama has mentioned[7] seven kinds of *Pākayajñas* viz. the *Aṣṭaka Parvaṇa* (offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, *Śrāvaṇī, Āgrahāyaṇī, Caitrī* and *Āśvayujī*. These are not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but they are described in detail in the *Āśvalāyana*[8], *Gobhila*[9] and *Pāraskara*[10] *Gṛhya Sūtras.* One finds references to *Aṣṭakā*[11] and *Āgrahāyaṇī*[12] but they are used in different senses.

1. IV. 2.35 p. 277. L. 9.
2. IV. 1.33 p. 214. L. 12.
3. I. 1.2-3.
4. II. 86; Cf. *Vasiṣtha* XXVI. 10.
5. I. 9.26.
6. *His. Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 203.
7. VIII. 18.
8. I. 1.2.
9. III. 10 seq.
10. III. 3. seq.
11. IV. 2.104 p. 298. L. 25.
12. II. 3.38. p. 455. L. 13.

The performance of the *Pañca-mahāyajña* was incumbent on every householder (*sarveṇa ca gṛhasthena pañcamahāyajñā nirvartyā*)[1]. These, according to the Smṛtikāras[2], were: sacrifice offered to the Brahman (*adhyāpanam brahmayajñaḥ*), the offering of water (*tarpaṇa*) to the manes (*pitṛyajñas tu tarpaṇam*), the burnt oblation - the sacrifice offered to the gods (*homaḥ prahuto*), the Bali offering to the Bhūtas (*bhavtiko bali*), and the hospitable reception of guests, the offering to men (*nṛyajño 'tithipūjānam*). The oblations to Devas is alluded to in the expression (*sāyamprātar homa-carupuroḍāśān nirvapati*)[3], but more information is available in relation to manes. Besides the *havya* and *kavya* oblations, offered to gods and *pitṛs* respectively, it was necessary to perform *śrāddha*, and the person dining on that particular day was called *śrāddhi* or *śrāddhika* (*Śrāddham anena bhuktam*)[4]. This is done even now for propitiating the manes, and for one's spiritual welfare. The wife joined her husband in the performance of sacrifices, and was entitled to an equal share of the fruits (*patnīsaṁyūja iti yatra yajñasaṁyogaḥ*), but this privilege was not accorded to a śūdra lady, despite her legal status (*evam api tuṣajakasya patnīti na sidhyati*)[5]. Patañjali does not mention the penance for the non-performance of such sacrifices, but, according to Manu, such a person lives not though he breathes (*na nirvapati pañcānām ucchavasan na sajīvati*)[6].

Turāyaṇa was another kind of sacrifice mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra (*yas turāyaṇena yajate sa taurāyaṇika ity ucyate*)[7]. It was one of the forms of the new and full moon offerings which could extend to a year in duration[8]. The *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* mentions

1. IV. 1.33 p. 214. L. 12.
2. *Manu.* III. 70; *Gaut.* V. 3-5; Yāj. I. 102.
3. IV. 1.53. p. 214. L. 12.
4. II. 1.1 p. 361. L. 21.
5. IV. 1.33 p. 214. LL. 11-12,
6. III. 72.
7. V. 1.72 p. 358. L. 7i
8. Keith: Op. cit. p. 324.

Turīyana, as a *yajña* performed for the attainment of heaven (*sa eṣa svargakāmasya yajñaḥ*)[1].

Soma Drinking :

There is no reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* to other kinds of Vedic sacrifices, like, *Jyotiṣṭoma* or *Āyuṣṭoma* which are mentioned by Pāṇini,[2] and were performed for obtaining longevity. Soma drinking was known, as Patañjali has referred to *kuṇḍapāyya*[3] at which ewers or pitchers were used. The other form was called *saṁcaya* which required the stocking or accumulation of Soma. It is mentioned in the same sūtra of Pāṇini, but it is unnoticed by the *Bhāṣyakāra*. He has, however, referred to the drinking of Soma according to the Yājñika school, which conferred this privilege on that person alone in whose family no one had suffered social degradation during the preceding three generations. (*evam hi yājñikāḥ paṭhanti-daśapuruṣānūkaṁ yasya gṛhe śūdrā na vidyeran sa somam pibed iti*)[4]. According to Manu, the economic prosperity of the individual weighed in his claim to drink soma, that is, he possessed food, enough to last for three years or more, with which to maintain his dependents (*yasya trai vārṣikam bhaktam paryāptam bhṛtyavṛattaye-adhikaṁ vā api vidyet sa soman pātum arhati*)[5]. If the Soma was drunk with a stock less than the prescribed one (*svalpīyasi dravye yaḥ*), the labour was wasted (*na tasya āpnoti tat phalam*)[6].

Minor Sacrifices :

There were certain minor sacrifices, like, *navayajña*[7] and *cāturmāsya*[8]. The former, according to Gobhila[9], was an offering of the

1. IV. 11.
2. VIII. 3.83.
3. III. 1. 130 p. 89. L. 16.
4. IV. 1. 93 p. 248. L. 14.
5. XI. 7.
6. XI. 8.
7. IV. 2. 35. p. 277. L. 8.
8. V. 1. 94 p. 360. L. 21.
9. III. 8. 9.

first fruits of the harvest; and a mass of boiled rice grains with milk, sacred to Indra and Agni, was prepared. The latter represented three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons of four months each viz. *Vaiśvadevam*, *Varuṇapraghāsaḥ* and *Sākamedhaḥ*.[1] These coincided with the beginning of three seasons - on the full moon days of the month of Phāluguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika.[2] There are also references to certain other rites, as for instance, *Sthālīpāka*,[3] *Caru*,[4] *Puroḍāsa*[5] and *Kapāla*,[6] which may be considered in detail later on.

Priests, Accessories and Duration of sacrifices :—

The beginning of a Vedic sacrifice was preceded by the recitation of sacred mantras, popularly called *Svastivācana*, which was followed by *Puṇyāha-vācana*, recited for wishing an auspicious day, while *Śānti-vācana*[7] averted an evil. The Bhāṣyakāra actually refers to a *mantra* recited in a sacrifice - *asravantīm āruhemā svastaye*[8]. The principal ceremony was known as *Prayāja*[9]. Its performer was called *Ṛtvij*[10] and the sacrificer was known as *Yajamāna*[11]. The *Adhvaryu*[12] priest, distinct from the *Hotṛ*[13] and *Udgātṛ*[14], had to perform numerous functions, like measuring the ground, building the altar, preparing sacrificial vessels, fetching wood and water, lighting the fire and finally bringing the animal to the

1. *Tait Sam. i.* 6.10.
2. *Vedic Index.* Vol. II. p. 259 and ref.
3. IV. 1. 85. p. 237. L. 8.
4. V. 1. 2 p. 337. L. 15.
5. V. 1. 72 p. 358. L. 9.
6. IV. 1. 88 p. 239. L. 14.
7. V. 1. 111 p. 362. L. 20.
8. III. 1. 86. p. 65. L. 13.
9. I. 1. 1 p. 3. L. 10.
10. I. 1. 27 p. 86. L. 7.
11. II. 2. 49 p. 486. L. 9.
12. I. 1. 3 p. 48. L. 26. etc.
13. II. 1. 1 p. 372. L. 11 etc.
14. II. 4. 1 p. 372. L. 12 etc.

sacrificial post and immolating it. While engaged in these duties, the hymns of the *Yajurveda* had to be repeated by him[1]. *Neṣṭā* (*Neṣṭṛ*)—the other priest, mentioned in the Vedic literature[2], was engaged in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice; as one of the chief officiating priests, he led forward the wife of the sacrificer, and prepared the surā. The priests connected with the Ṛgveda sacrifices, and mentioned by Patañjali, are: Hotā (*Hotṛ*), and Potā (*Potṛ*)[3]. The functions of the former are clearly defined in the *Ṛgveda*[4], his chief duty being the recitation of the *Sastras*. The latter, too, was one of the priests mentioned in the Ṛgveda, and in the Brāhmaṇas[5]. It is presumed bv its derivation from the root *Pū* - to purify, that he was engaged in the purification of Soma, and actually sang Soma hymns. Oldenburg's suggestion[6] that he ceased in later literature to be a priest of any importance, save a mere name, may be true. Patañjali compares the two terms without further comments. The other priests mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra are: *Praśāstā* (*Prāśāstṛ*) and *Pratihartā* (*Pratihartṛ*)[7] and *Agnīdha*[8]. Their functions are not defined, but in earlier times *Praśāstṛ* appeared as *Hotṛ's* assistant[9] while *Pratihartṛ* was attached to the *Udgātṛ*, as we find in the *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*[10]. The last one was connected with the *Atharvaveda* confining himself to the kindling of fire, as his designation suggests. There is, however, no reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* to the requisitioning of their services in actual sacrifices.

The accessories to a sacrifice included, firstly, the special area

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1. Cf. RV. X. 41. 3; *Ait Brāh* 7. 16 etc.
2. RV. I. 15. 3. *Taitt Sam.* i. 8. 18, 1; *Ait Brāh.* VI. 3. 10. *Śat. Brāh.* iii. 8. 2. 1.
3. II. 2. 49 p. 486 L. 9.
4. II. 1· 2; 36. 1. etc.
5. RV. I. 94. 6; II. 5. 2; *Ait Brāh.* VI. 10. et seq; *Śat* Brāh IV. 3. 4. 22.
6. *Religion des Veda* pp. 383, 391, 395.
7. III. 2. 135 p. 130. L. 23.
8. IV. 3. 120 p. 318. L. 23.
9. RV. I. 94. 6, *Vāj Sam* X. 21; *Śat Brāh* IV. 6. 66. etc.
10. *Taitt. Sam.* iii. 3. 3. 1; *Tait Brāh.* i, 8, 2, 3; *Śat* Brāh. IV. 3, 4. 22 etc,

with a place for recitation (*stuti - bhūmi*) and the *avaskara*[1], a pit for throwing refuse which are not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra. The *kuśa*[2] grass, also called *Pavitra* in the *Kāśikā*,[3] was used in sacrifices. In the Soma sacrifice, the Pūtikā grass (*pūtīkatṛna*) was substituted though Soma had not become obsolete (*Vede 'pi somasya sthāne pūtīkatṛṇāny abhiṣuṇuyād ity ucyate na ca tatra somo bhūtapūrvo bhavati*[4]. Patañjali comments no the *Sūtrā* relating to the irregular formation of the word '*dvaṁdva*' in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a limit, a separation, employing in a sacrificial vessel (*yajñapātra*), and manifestation[5], but does not refer to that part relating to sacrificial cups which are accessories in a Vedic sacrifice. The oblation material was known as *sāṁnāyya*[6], a substance mixed with clarified butter and offered as a burnt offering. It was especially an offering of the Agnihotris, consisting of milk taken from a cow on the evening of the new moon mixed on the next day with other milk, and offered with clarified butter[7]. The oblations were prepared or offered in five cups or bowls (*pañcakapāla*) or in ten (*daśakapāla*)[8]. The Vedis were constructed for sacrificial purpose, but there is no reference to the material used in preparing these altars which needed special class of bricks, as mentioned by Pāṇini (*tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itīṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ*)[9]. The fire was kindled by the priest, followed by offering oblations with the recitation of mantras (*tathā agnau kapālāny adhiśṛtya abhi-mantrayate*)[10].

The important part in such sacrifices was the recitation of the mantras for invoking Vedic deities. There was an injunction against

1. IV. 3. 28.
2. II. 2. 34 p. 436. L. 21.
3. III. 2. 185 p. 2.
4. I. 1. 56 p. 137. L. 10.
5. VIII. 1.15 p. 370. L. 20 f.
6. V. 4.36 p. 435. L. 16.
7. Cf. T. S. 2,5,3,3; T. Br. 3,2,3 11; *Sat. Bra.* 1.6,2,6.
8. IV. 1.88 p. 239. L. 14.
9. IV. 4.125.
10. 1.1.1 p. 8. L. 18.

the use of the *apa-śabdas* in *yajñas* (*yajñe punaḥ karmaṇi nāpabhāṣante*)[1]. A bad sacrificer was called *yājñikapāśa*[2]. The mantras differed according to the nature of sacrifices. Patañjali refers to the *Rājasūya* mantras, as well as to those meant for the *Agniṣṭoma* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices (*agniṣṭome bhavo mantro 'gniṣṭomaḥ-rājasūyaḥ vājapeyaḥ*)[3]. The technical word *juhoti* is used for those sacrificial ceremonies to which the root *hu* and not *yaj* is applied[4]. The adaptable nature of the Vedic mantras, with reference to case endings not provided for, may suggest that Patañjali had first hand information for sacrificial ceremonies (*na sarvair liṅgair na ca sarvābhir vibhaktibhir vede mantrā nigaditāḥ*[5]. The other technical words *udgrābha* and *nigrābha*[6] are used in the sense of 'the uplifting' and 'falling' of *sruk* (*udgrābhaḥ nigrābha iti imau śabdau chandasi vaktavyau srug udyamānanipātanayor arthayoḥ*)[7]. It is equally interesting to notice the reference to the *Sāmidheni* mantras becoming seventeen in number by the threefold repetition of the first and the last hymns (*saptadaśa sāmidhenyo bhavantīti triḥ prathmām anvāha trir uttamām ity āvṛttitaḥ saptadaśatvam bhavati*)[8]. He has also commented on the Sūtra *ye yajña-karmaṇi*, giving special accentuation to the vowel of *ye* forming part of the sentence '*ye yajāmahe*' which was to be uttered with circumflex accent (*pluta*) only, during the process of the sacrifice (*ye yajāmahe śabdo brūhyādiṣu upasaṁkhyeyaḥ*[9]. The muttering of the mantras generally accompanied the burning of *yajñasamidh*, as is done even now (*bhṛśaṁ japati brāhmaṇaḥ-bhṛśaṁ samidho dahatīty eva*[10].

1. 1.1.1 p. 11. L. 14.
2. V. 3.47 p. 411. L. 6.
3. IV. 3. 66. p. 312. L. 4
4. II. 3.3 p. 444.
5. 1.1.1 p. 1. L. 16.
6. III. 3.36 p. 148. LL. 8-9.
7. Ibid.
8. I. 1.2 p. 17. LL. 23-24
9. VIII. 2. 88 p. 419. L. 5.
10. III. 1.22 p. 30. L. 13.

The duration of sacrifices, fruits accruing from them, the *dakṣiṇā* given to the Brāhmaṇas, and the latter's relation with the *yajamāna* are some other minor points worth consideration. The Bhāṣyakāra has referred to the yajñas lasting for a hundred, or even a thousand years, (*dīrgha sattrāṇi vārṣaśatikāni vārṣasahasrikāṇi ca*); but they were no longer in practice, and only heard of in ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature (*na ca adyatve kaścid api vyavaharati kevalaṁ ṛṣi sampradāyo dharma iti kṛtvā yājñikāḥ śāstreṇa anuvidhate*)[1] There were others lasting for four months (*caturṣu māseṣu bhavāni cāturmāsyāni yajñāḥ*)[2]. The *Pañca-mahāyajña* was to be performed every day. As regards the fruits of a sacrifice, the performer of an *Agniṣṭoma* was supposed to be free from rebirth (*kuto nu khalv etad agniṣṭoma yājīty etad upapadam bhaviṣyati na punar janiteti*)[3]. The sacrificial fee - *dakṣiṇā*, however, varied. Patañjali refers to a gelded bull as dakṣiṇā (*mahāniraṣṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate*)[4]. The relations between the priests and the yājamānas were of a cordial nature, known as *srauvasambandha*[5], that is, relationship through *sruva* or ladle which was placed on a par with others emanating from money (*artha*), blood (*yauna*) and education (*maukha*).

Vedic Gods :

The list of Vedic deities, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* is not as comprehensive as we find in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and this is an indication of the swing towards popular divinities, especially, those connected with the cult of *bhakti* or devotion. A few Vedic ones are also noticed, like, Indra, Śakra, Puruhūta, and Puraṁdara, which were, no doubt, different names of one god (*bahavo hi śabdā ekārthā bhavanti*)[6]. The principal Vedic deities noticed are: Agni[7], Vāyu[8], Sūrya[9],

1. I. 1.1 p. 9. LL. 15-17.
2. V. 1.94 p. 361. L. 2.
3. III. 4.1 p. 168. L. 10.
4. V. 2.38 p. 125. L. 21.
5. I. 1.49 p. 119. L. 21.
6. I. 2.45 p. 220. L. 1.
7. I. 1.1 p. 1. L. 5.
8. VI. 3.26 p. 148. L. 21.
9. II. 2.11 p. 414. L. 14.

Rudra (*Paśunā Rudraṁ yajate*)[1], Prajāpati, (*eṣa vai saptadaśākṣaraś chandasyaḥ prajāpatir yajñam anuvihitaḥ*)[2]. Marut (*agnir vā ito vṛṣṭim iṭṭe maruto 'mutaś cyāvayantīti*)[3], Aponaptṛ, Apāṁnaptṛ, mentioned by Pāṇini also, in the same Sūtra (*aponaptrapāṁnaptṛbhyāṁ ghaḥ*) Varuṇa, Vāyu and Āditya (*Indras tvaṣṭā varnṇo vāyur āditya*)[4], and *Viṣṇu*[5] who enjoyed a high position amongst the votaries of the Bhāgavata cult. There are also references to dual divinities, like Mitra and Varuṇa (*Mitravarṇau ijyamānaḥ*)[6], Dyau and Pṛthivī (Dyāvāpṛthivī)[7] Agni and Soma (*Agni Somau*)[8] and Vāyu-Varuṇa (*Vāyu-Vāruṇam*)[9].

Post-Vedic Deities :

These include some Vedic ones as well whose worship was continued in that period. A few names are synonymous. Indra with his other names, mentioned earlier, is praised a number of times for his killing the demon Vṛtra, and is styled *Vṛtrahan*[10]. Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular with separate cults. The former is given other names like, Bhava, Śarva[11], Giriśa, (*girau śete Giriśaḥ*)[12], Mahādeva (*Kakuddoṣanī yācate Mahādevaḥ*)[13], and *Trayambaka* (*Trayambakam yajāmahe*)[14]. These are some of the eight names of Śiva mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*[15]. Skanda (*Kārttikeya*) is also mentioned

1. I. 4.32 p. 331. L. 3.
2. IV. 4.140 p. 335. L. 8.
3. I. 3.1 p. 256. L. 13.
4. II. 2.29 p. 431. L. 5.
5. VI. 1.36 p. 30. L. 18.
6. VI. 1.108 p. 82. L. 2.
7. III. 2.107 p. 114. L. 21.
8. VIII. 3.82 p. 445. L. 19.
9. VI. 3.42 p. 158. L. 3.
10. I. 1.39 p. 97. L 20.
11. III. 1.134 p. 91. L. 14.
12. III. 2.15 p. 100. L. 19.
13. VI. 1.63 p. 41. L. 20.
14. VI. 4.77 p. 209. L. 22.
15. VI. 93.2, VII. 87.1 ; XI. 2.1.4.

in association with Viśākha[1]. Patañjali seems to mention the synonyms of certain deities in the expression - *Brahmaprajāpatī Śivavaiśravaṇau Skandaviśākhau*[2]. *Kṛṣṇa*[3] also figures prominently. The deities were supposed to possess infinite wisdom (*devājñātum arhanti*)[4]. The gods of constellations - the sun and the moon were also venerated (*ādityam upatiṣṭhate-candramasam upatiṣṭhate*)[5]. The Pauranic conception of heaven and hell (*naraka*)[6], the emergence of the Kaliyuga (*kalirdevatāsya - kāleyaś caruḥ*)[7] and the fight between the Devas and Asuras (*devāsuram - rākṣasosuram*)[3] was well-known. One also finds certain paiticular popular features like, emphasis on charity which entitled one to a place in heaven (*yo bhavatām odanaṁ dāsyati sa svargaṁ lokaṁ gamiṣyati*)[9]. There is a reference to gods, called *Nilimpā* classed as supernatural beings (*nilimpānāma devāḥ*)[10]. The images of these deities were worshipped by the people.

Certain female divinities mentioned are: Lakṣmī[11], wife of Viṣṇu; and Suparṇī[12]. Patañjnli, commenting on II. 2. 34, has also noticed, or probably composed a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments were played in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava (*mṛdaṅgaśaṅkhatūṇavāḥ pṛthaṅ nandanti saṁsadi prāsāde dhanapatirāmakeśavānām*)[13]. Rāma and Keśava are rightly identified with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear from this reference that there were festive gatherings at that time in their temples.

1. V. 3.99 p. 429. L. 2.
2. VI. 3.26 p. 148. LL. 23-24.
3. 1.1.4. p. 53. L. 9.
4. VIII. 3.72 p. 443. L. 23.
5. I. 3.25 p. 281. L. 6.
6. VI. 1.7 p. 12. L. 6.
7. IV. 2.7 p. 273. L. 12.
8. IV. 3.125 p. 319. L. 16.
9. III. 3.7 p. 140. L. 8.
10. III. 1.138 p. 92. L. 12.
11. I. 4.3 p. 313. L. 17.
12. IV. 1.44 p. 206. L. 22.
13. II. 2.34 p. 436. L. 5.

Images :

Pāṇini mentions the term *Pratikṛti*[1], meaning portraits, but Patañjali uses the word *arcā* denoting images. The famous sūtra *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye,* which has been the subject of so much discussion, is helpful on this point. These images were not saleable (*apaṇya*), but were kept in temples for the purpose of worship (*yās tv etāḥ sampratipujārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*), serving, incidentally, as means of livelihood to their owners. The comment on this Sūtra questions the validity of the dropping of *ka* in such forms as, *Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ* and *Viśākhaḥ*, since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, sold objects of worship (*Mauryair hiranyārthibhir arcaḥ prakalpitaḥ*)[2]. It is important for two reasons: firstly, it testifies to the worship of these divinities in that period, and secondly, it refers to the metal used for making these images. Kauṭilya has also referred to the installation of the images of Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa in temples (*Śivavaiśravaṇāśviśrīmandirāgṛhaṁ ca puramadhye kārayet*)[3]. The Gaṇapāṭha cites the compound - *Skandaviśākhau* along with *Brahmaprajāpatī*, and *Śivavaiśravaṇau*[4]. According to the Bhāṣyakāra, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in loka (*vartamāne punar dvandvagrahaṇasya etat prayojanaṁ lokavedayor yo dvandvas tatra yathā syāt na ca vede sahanirvāpā nirdiṣṭāḥ*[5].

The cult of the Yakṣas and Nāgas, with their female counterparts, whose statues have been found, is another phase in the study of popular divinities in that period. It is natural to presume that devotion or *bhakti* played an important part in the setting up of these images. As regards the antiquity of Skanda and Viśākha, they seem to be earlier than the time of Patañjali. According to D. R. Bhandarkar[6], Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in olden

1. V. 3.36.
2. V. 3.99 p. 429.
3. II. 4 p. 55.
4. II. 4.14
5. VI. 3.26 p. 149. L. 2.
6. *Carmichael Lectures*. 1921, pp. 22-23.

days names of four different gods. He based his contention on the reference to Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena with separate figures on the coins of Huviṣka, and Amarsiṁha's allusion to only one of the four names in each of the four lines of his two verses relating to Kārttikeya. R. G. Bhandarkar[1] had suggested that the three names represented only one deity on Huviṣka's coins. The distinct individuality of the two divinities seems clear from the reference in the *Mahābhāṣya,* though the evidence is considered inconclusive by those who attach importance to the absence of Viśākha's name, as a deity, in early or later literature[2].

Bhaktism - Bhāgavata cult :—

The feeling of devotion or attachment to a particular deity, recognising others as manifestations of the same, was not new to this period. Its existence can be traced in earlier literature. Pāṇini seems to refer to it in his reference to Vāsudeva and Arjuna in the Sūtra - *Vāsudevārjunābhyāṁ vun*[3]. It is clear, as suggested in the *Kāśikā,* that Vāsudeva mentioned in this Sūtra was not a Kṣatriya name but that of Kṛṣṇa, and the person attached to him was known as Vāsudevaka (*Vāsudevobhaktir asya Vāsudevakaḥ*)[4]. The propitiation of deities is implied in another Sūtra of Pāṇini which refers to the morphology of names, as Varuṇadatta and Āryamadatta; the ending *datta* denoted a benediction from a god, or a higher power of which the personal name became a symbolic expression (*kārakādattaśrutayor - evāśisi*)[5]. It is, therefore, presumed that the Bhakti cult dates back, at least, to the time of the Sūtrakāra. R. G. Bhandarkar had suggested[6] two religious movements during the period of intellectual ferment : the one in the east, which believed in self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct; and the other connected

1. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* etc. p. 151.
2. Cf. I. H. Q. Vol. VII. p. 315.
3. IV. 3.98.
4. p. 343.
5. VI. 2.148.
6. Op. cit. p. 9. f.

with the Sātvatas in western India which attached importance to devotion in a supreme God. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* traces the evolution of the second course. The supreme God is named Hari whose worship is not completely free from religious sacrifices. The next stage is marked by the association of Vāsudeva with his son, grandson, and brother, who became objects of veneration presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by Him for the purpose. Patañjali has given interesting information on this point. Vāsudeva and Bāladeva are classed by him[1] as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva.

It is contended that the Sātvatas of the *Mahābhārata* was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race to which Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣana and Aniruddha belonged. The religion of the Sātvatas, associated with Vāsudeva in the *Mahābhārata*, culminated in the time of Patañjali when other members, connected with Vāsudeva, were also revered. The life and activities of the supreme lord became objects of exhibition to the people in different ways. Patañjali, besides mentioning the names of Kṛṣṇa and Janārdana[2], the synonyms of Vāsudeva, also referred to the festive gatherings in the temples of Keśava (*Vāsudeva*) and Rāma (*Balarāma*). The references[3] to Vāsudeva-bhaktas, the staging of Balibandha - connected with Viṣṇu, and the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa himself, are some of the additional proofs of the growing spirit of devotion to the Lord who was addressed by different names. There is a reference to the Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa and his acolytes (*Janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva*)[4], meaning 'Janārdhana, whose self is the fourth in a constituent group'. The Vedic god Viṣṇu, later a synonym of Vāsudeva, is compounded with Indra in one reference[5], and with Agni in another[6]. This need not mislead us

1. V. 1.144 p. 257. LL. 11-12.
2. VI. 3.5 p. 143. L. 7.
3. III. 1.26 p. 34. L. 16. p. 36. L. 19.
4. VI. 3.5 p. 143. L. 7.
5. VI. 1.36 p. 30. L. 18.
6. VI. 3.28 p. 149. L. 5.

in presuming distinct personalities of Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa. It is true that Viṣṇu, as a Vedic deity, was frequently invoked, though not placed in the foremost rank; but in the post-Vedic period he assumed the supreme place condescending to become incarnate for the emancipation of human beings. It may, therefore, be suggested that one stream of religious thought emanated from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god; the other from Vāsudeva, the historic personality associated at first with the Sātvatas; and these two, mingling with another merging with Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, gave rise to the cult of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva Bhaktism. The identification of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu is established, and Keith referred[1] to it long ago. The evidence from the epigraphic and archæological sources, is also helpful in assessing the nature and flourishing state of this cult which attracted even foreigners.

Amongst the epigraphic records of this period, the most important one is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which mentions the setting up of the Garuḍa Column (*garuḍadhvaja*) of Vāsudeva, the god of gods (*devādeva*) by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, son of Dion and an inhabitant of Taxila who came as Greek Ambassador from King Antialkidas to Kāśīputra King Bhāgabhadra. A fragment of the shaft of another octagonal column, evidently from Besnagar, and found in a narrow street at Bhilsa, bears a Brāhmī inscription in one line recording the erection of the Garuḍa column of the excellent temple of the Bhagavat (*Bhagavataḥ prāsādo*) by Gautamīputra, a Bhāgavata. These two records[2] from Besnagar are Vaiṣṇavite in character, since Garuḍa appears as the Vāhana of Viṣṇu. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Garuḍa, in return for boons granted to him by Viṣṇu, himself offered a boon to him who made the bird his vehicle[3].

The next inscription[4] is the Ghasundī stone slab found about 4 miles north-east of Nāgarī in the Udaipur State (Rājasthān). It

1. J. R. A. S. 1908 p. 169. f.
2. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1913-4 Pt. II. p. 190.
3. I. L. 1510.
4. Luders List-E. I. Vol. X. Appendix No. 6.

is engraved in Brāhmī characters of the second century B. C., and records the erection of a stone enclosure of worship for Bhagavat Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, within the enclosure of Nārāyaṇa, by Bhāgavata Gajāyana, son of Parāśari. The Nārāyaṇavaṭa, or the enclosure of the Lord, denotes the compound of a temple or place of worship, while *Pūjāśilāprākāra* stands for Bhāgavat Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-evidently referring to a smaller stone enclosure, probably, round the the images representing Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva within the Nārāyaṇavaṭa. The cosmic philosophic god Nārāyaṇa, whose name is not traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*, thus, completes the *triveṇī*, or the three streams of thought mingling together to form the cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

Now, as regards the relation of Saṁkarṣaṇa with Vāsudeva, the Nānāghāt cave inscription[1] mentions them as the descendants of the moon (*Caṁda-Candra*) along with *Dhamma* (*Dharma*), Ida (*Indra*), and the guardians of the four cardinal points: Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsudeva. R. P. Chanda, quoting the Nārāyāṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, and Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Vedānta-Sūtras* suggested[2] that these two of the forms (*Vyūhas*) were worshipped by the Pañcarātras or Bhāgavatas. The *Vyūhas* were *Vāsudeva*, or the highest self, *Saṁkarṣaṇa*, or the individual soul, *Pradyumna* or the mind (*manas*), and *Aniruddha* or the principle of egoity (*ahaṁkāra*) in descending order; and according to the orthodox view, the highest *Brahman* called *Vāsudeva* abides in a four-fold form, or reveals itself by dividing its four-fold as the four *vyūhas*. In all these expositions, *Vāsudeva* is mentioned first, followed by Samkarṣaṇa. In this inscription the order is reversed, and it is presumed that in those days Saṁkarṣaṇa was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling Vāsudeva in rank. Kauṭilya has also mentioned[3] this god. R. P. Chanda, therefore, suggested two forms of Vāsudevism - the worship of Vāsudeva, as 'the god of gods,' and also as a god second to Saṁkarṣaṇa, in the second century B. C. thereby, indicating that the basic cult originated at a much earlier period.

1. Ibid., No. 1112.
2. *Archæology and Vaiṣṇava tradition* p. 164.
3. p. 403.

Another record is the Morā stone slab inscription[1] of the time Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula. Though it is placed about the early part of the first century A. D., its importance lies here in the second line beginning with - *Bhagavatā vṛ(ṣ)ṇe(na) Pañcavīrānām pratimā.* If *Bhagavatā vṛṣṇena* is construed as *Bhagavato vṛṣṇeḥ*, as suggested by Chanda[2], then it may refer to the setting up of an image of the blessed or the divine *vṛṣṇi*, that is Kṛṣṇa - Vāsudeva, who belonged to the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava race (*Vṛṣṇīnām Vāsudevo 'smi*)[3]. A Mathurā inscription[4] of the time of the great Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula, also refers to the shrine of the Bhagavat Vāsudeva (*Bhagava(to Vāsude)vasya mahāsthāna*).

Now the association of Vāsudeva with Baladeva and the Vṛṣṇis is also noted by Patañjali (*Vāsudevaḥ - Bāladevaḥ - ṇyasya sa eva - viṣvakseno nāma vṛṣṇis tasmād ubhayam prāpnoti*)[5]. On the basis of the literary, epigraphic and archæological sources, the following conclusions may be drawn - Firstly, the Bhāgavata cult is not new to this period, but dates back, at least, to the time of Pāṇini. Secondly, Viṣṇu, the Vedic deity, was identified with Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa; a general name Vāsudeva - Bhāgavata cult denoted Vaiṣṇavism. Thirdly, both Balarāma and Vāsudeva, who were historical personalities associated with the Vṛṣṇis, had attained divine status, with their images consecrated in temples where there were festive gatherings. Fourthly, the *Vyūhas* of Vāsudeva also found a place in the divine pantheon. It is clear that Saṁkarṣaṇa enjoyed a divine position along with Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. Thus, what was supposed to be a localized religious stream of thought, gradually expanded in eastern and southern directions. This cult, a synthesis of different religious thoughts, also attracted foreigners.

1. Luders list - Op. cit. No. 14.
2. Op. cit. p. 166.
3. *Bhag. Gītā.* Chap. X. 37.
4. Luders List - Op. cit.
5. IV. 1.114 p. 257. LL. 11-12.

Śaivism :

There are two references in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest a separate cult of the Śaivas, the devotees of Śiva:-*Śiva-bhāgavata*[1] and *Śiva-vaiśravaṇau*[2]. The first refers to the devotees of Śiva who carried an iron lance, as the emblem of that deity (*yo 'yaḥśūlena anvicchati sa āyaḥ-śūlikaḥ kiṁ cātaḥ śiva-bhāgavate prāpnoti*). It is suggested[3] that, despite the inapplicability of the word *āyaḥ-śūlika* in its literal sense to Śiva-bhāgavata, the meaning, 'one who took recourse to extreme harsh or rash measures to seek an end, which could be secured by milder methods', alludes to the existence of this cult, whose members used an iron spear as a distinctive mark. One, however, feels that the two classes of Śiva devotees have to be distinguished - the *Āyaḥ-śūlikas* carried an iron trident or *triśūla* and practised penance and other dhūta rites; but there were lay devotees who propitiated the benign deity through their offerings. A sentence in the comment on the Sūtra *Jīvakārthe cāpaṇye* refers to the *arcā* or image of Śiva which was placed in front for the purpose of worship (*yās tv etāḥ saṁprati pūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*)[4]. Liṅga worship had not come into form by that time. Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were adored by many people, and their images were a source of living to their keepers. The evidence, advanced by the *Atharva Śirasa Upaniṣad* and the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*, on the position of Śiva as a divinity and the different branches or offshoots of Śaivism is valuable. The former designates him as a *Bhagavat*, while the latter refers to *Pāśupata*, as one of the five schools of religious doctrines which had revelations from Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha. This school, according to R. G. Bhandarkar[5], rose about the second century B. C., but it is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. One can hardly deny that Śaivism, as a separate cult, existed earlier than the time of

1. V. 2.76 p. 387. L. 19.
2. VI. 3.26 p. 148. L. 23.
3. I. A. Vol. XLI. p. 272.
4. V. 3.99 p. 429. L. 4.
5. Op. cit. p. 116.

Patañjali in the light of Megasthenes' reference[1] to the cults of Dionysus and Heracles, and the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhārata* on this point, but it is difficult to assert or even suggest the different schools into which it had branched off in that period. To be more precise, it can be suggested, rather safely, that the votaries of Śiva included those who took recourse to harsh and rash measures for seeking their end, as well as ordinary lay worshippers who believed in propitiation through devotion.

Ascetic Orders :

Groups of wandering mendicants, or those living in solitary meditation were not unknown. Patañjali tries to explain their philosophy which upheld inaction, and their creed was different from that of the Brahmaṇa or Śramaṇa religious groups. The practice of asceticism served to reveal supreme wisdom (*tapas tāpasaṁ sedhayati*)[2]. The ascetics were noted for their matted hair (*jaṭā*)[3], beard (*śmaśru*), and the use of a water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*)[4]. The staffs(*daṇḍa*) varied according to the groups - as for instance, the *Parivrājaka* had three staves (*trivisṭabdhakaṁ dṛṣṭvā parivrājaka iti*), but a *Daṇḍin* has a single *kṣatra*[5]. The Parivrājakas are also mentioned by Pāṇini in his Sūtra-*Maskaramaskariṇau Veṇuparivrājakayoḥ*[6]. This ascetic order included a Maskarin, and it is suggested by Patañjali in his comment that a Maskarin Parivrājaka was so called, not because of his *maskara* - the bamboo staff (*na vai maskaro 'syāstīti maskarī parivrājaka*), but for his doctrine of inactivity seeking peace as the highest end (*mā kṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyas īty āhāto maskarī parivrājakaḥ*)[7]. This policy was endorsed by the Ājīvikas who believed in quietism. According to the Buddhist literature[8], the Ājīvikas recognized only three as their leaders - Nanda

1. C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 408.
2. VI. 1.49 p. 38. L. 7.
3. VI. 1.48 p. 37. L. 20.
4. II. 3.4 p. 445. L. 7.
5. II. 1.1 p. 365. L. 21.
6. VI. 1.154.
7. Ibid., p. 96. LL. 12-13.
8. Maj. i. 524, Vin. i. 291.

Vaccha, Kisa Saṅkicca, and Makkhali Gosāla. Their precept *nātthi kammaṁ nātthi kiriyam nāithi uiriyam*, also set forth at greater length in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*[1], suggests that the attainment of a given condition of any character does not depend either on one's own acts, or on those of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, strength or human vigour[2].

The identification of Maskarins with the Ajivikas is fairly certain, and it is confirmed by the fact that Gosāla. the last of the leaders, is called Makkhali - the Pālī form of Sanskrit Maskarin in Pālī literature. A late work, quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar[3], also suggests the identity of the Ājīvikas with the Maskarins, and it is proposed on the basis of the reference to the word *śikhin* of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, agreeing with the *uttuṅgajaṭā* of the *Janakīharaṇa*, that an Ājīvika was really a *tridaṇḍin*, and not an *ekadaṇḍin*, as supposed by Utpala. The *tridaṇḍin Parivrājaka*, mentioned by Patañjali, may be taken as an Ājīvika in the general sense. It is probable that the Bhāṣyakāra, while referring to the Parivrājakas as identical with Maskarins, had in mind the system of the Ājīvikas who had lately received benefactions of caves at Nāgārjunī from Emperor Daśaratha of the Mauryan dynasty[4]. They are not noticed separately. The group also included female ascetics (*śaṅkarā nāmaparivrājakā*)[5],

The *Daṇḍins*[6], with a single staff, formed a separate group dating back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas[7], and mentioned by Pāṇini[8] and Manu[9], besides Patañjali. Manu actually describes

1. i, 53-54.
2. Rhys Davids: *Dial.* Vol. I. p. 71. f.
3. I. A. Vol. XLI. 1912 p. 290.
4. C. I. I. Vol. I. pp. 103-4; 134-5.
5. III. 2.14 p 100. L. 6.
6. V. 2.94 p. 393. L. 19.
7. *Śat. Brah.* XIII. 4. 2. 15.
8. V. 2.115.
9. VI. 52. *Klṛptakeśa-nakha-śmaśruḥ pātri daṇḍī kusumbhavān vicaren niyato nityaṁ sarvabhūtāny apīdayan.*

their appearance. The Daiṣṭikas (*diṣṭam ity asya matir daiṣṭikaḥ*[1],) mentioned in analogy to the other two terms - *āstika* and *nāstika*, probably belonged to the school of Makkhali which repudiated *karman* as the means of attaining one's end.

The Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas had separate orders, in constant opposition to the other (*yeṣām ca virodha ity asya avakāśaḥ*)[2]. The term *śramaṇa* included all non-Brahmanical orders. The earliest reference to this clear-cut division is given by Megasthenes, who mentioned[3] Brachmanes or the Brāhmaṇas and Garmanes viz. Śramaṇas. The distinction is maintained in Aśokan inscriptions as well. According to the Udāna, there were various sects of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas - followers of different *Diṭṭhis*, that is, systems of *Darśanas*, and having separate organizations (*sambahulā nānāḍitthiyā samaṇa-brāhmaṇā-paribbājakā sāvatthim piṇḍāya pavisanti nānāḍiṭṭhikā nānā-khantikā nānārucikā nānāditthinissayanissitā*)[4]. The two classes of ascetics, called *Parivrājakas*, or the wandering class, have been mentioned in the Buddhist literature[5] under two main headings - the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Aññatitthiyas*. It seems that the word *śramaṇa*, mentioned by Patañjali, denoted ascetic orders distinct from those of the Brāhmaṇas, though its use may have been restricted to Buddhists alone during certain times. The Bhāṣyakāra has not mentioned *śramaṇī* - Pāli - *samaṇī* - the female ascetics who are referred to in the *Samyutta Nikāya*[6]. The practice of initiating ladies was forbidden, except at the Vānaprastha stage along with their husbands (*striyām ca pravrajayataḥ*)[7], but things were different in the Śramaṇa orders - both Buddhist and Jains.

1. IV. 4.60 p. 332. 19.
2. II. 4.12 p. 476. L. 9.
3. Frag. XLI - Strabo XV. i. 59.
4. P. T. S. 1885 p. 66.
5. *Ang.* I. 65, 240; *Dig.* III. 115.
6. I. 333. Cf. also. *Jāt.* V. 424, *Vin.* IV. 235.
7. Kauṭilya: *Arthaśāstra* II. 1.

Popular Religious Beliefs :—

The key note of Indian religious belief has been the emphasis laid on the spiritual and moral side of human life, with the result that people have always been anxious to perform good deeds. This spirit prompted them to create dedications for some sacred purpose. The endowments at Bhārhut, and on the railing at Sāñchī, which were made in this period, are exclusively Buddhist; but one finds a peculiar phenomenon which was first pointed out by Buhler, and later considered afresh by Sir John Marshall. Buhler referred[1] to the existence of Pauranic worship at the time when these records were inscribed. Names like Arhadatta, Dharmarakhita, Bodhi, and Saṁgharakhita are Buddhist; Agideva and Viśvadeva relate to ancient Vedic worship, and the prevalence of Nāga cult, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaivism is evident from names like, Nāga, Nāgila, and Nāgadatta; Viṇhuka and Opedadatta; and Nādiguta, Samikā and Śivanandi respectively. Sir John Marshall points[2] to the Yakṣa cult, evidently on the basis of names such as, Yakhadāsī, Yakhadina, Yakhī and Yakhila. The presence of these folk cults in the second century B.C., is proved by the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures on the balustrade of the Bhārahut stūpa. In case the donors were interested in Pauranic worship, as suggested by Buhler, then how are they associated with Buddhist dedications ? Did Buddha have a place in the Brahmanical pantheon, or was he adored by the worshippers of the demi-gods, or did the people believe in eclecticism ? The answer to the questions is quite simple. It is probable that the donors were all Buddhists, and the use of these affixes is not a sure proof of the existence of these cults; but one may take a broader view and presume that the ordinary people in that period were anxious to obtain merit from whatever quarter, and through whatever process it was available. Therefore, these donors did not hesitate to make endowments for Buddhism, because they thought that by so doing they could acquire merit in the next world. This catholic outlook of a Hindu, even at present,

1. E. I. Vol. II. p. 95.
2. *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, p. 299.

prompts him to visit the Bodh-Gayā temple and give *dakṣiṇā* when he visits Gayā for performing *Pitṛ* oblations.

People also worshipped the lower order of divine beings - the *Yakṣas* and the *Nāgas* - for fear of their destructive powers, and a desire to obtain boons from them. This is evident from numerous statues of such demi-gods which have been found with inscriptions recorded on them, and their figures carved on the Bhārhut gateway and those at Sāñchī. According to Coomaraswamy[1], Yakṣa worship was a *bhakti* cult, with images, temples, altars and offerings, and as the greater deities of all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti cult, common to the whole sectarian development, which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period. This shows that the people at that time were not exclusively sectarian in their outlook. The Hindu Ethics enjoined upon every householder certain moral and spiritual obligations and he was supposed to have certain qualities like *śraddhā* [2]and *tyāga*[3] - faith and a spirit of sacrifice, which are classed as *dharmaniyamas* (*dharmāya niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ - dharmārtho vā niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ*)[4] - meaning a restriction for the sake of religious merit as its result, or with religious merit as its object. The popular belief in ethical and moral responsibilities was deep-rooted in the masses.

Buddhism :–

Popular religion of which the fabric was woven out of cults and traces, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall[5], did not leave the Buddhist religion unaffected. The sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī furnish numerous illustrations of sacred objects and divinities, drawn from

1. *Yakṣas*, p. 37.
2. I. 4.59 p. 341. L. 23.
3. III. 1.26 p. 34. L. 5.
4. I. 1.1 p. 8. LL. 4-5.
5. Op. cit. p. 24.

the ancient religions of the people. Though the names might have changed, the cults remained immutable. Such cults were taken over by Buddhism from the popular religion of the masses, and for the masses. The icon of the Buddha had not yet come into existence, but the relic worship had acquired a significant and important place in the Buddhist form of worship. As parts of the body of the Lord, they served to create in the mind of the devotee a feeling of personal devotion and allegiance. It was not only the Tathāgata, but even some of his important disciples like Sāriputra and Moggallāna, who claimed the privilege of their relics being enshrined in stūpas. This stage, probably, reached in the Śuṅga Period. As regards the anti-Buddhist attitude of the first Śuṅga monarch, Sir John Marshall has hinted at the probable destruction of the earlier Sāñchī Stūpa by this ruler, but we would like to leave the matter open without any comment. It is, however, clear that Buddhism was not inactive in this period. In an inscription[1] on the railing of the Sāñchī Stūpa, there is a reference to *ācariyakula* - a technical expression, meaning 'a Buddhist school', and *annācariyakula* - 'the other school'. It refers to an injuction against the removal of any property from Kākanāda to a non-Theravādin community, thereby suggesting that another school, probably of the Mahāsāṅghikas, had established itself at Sāñchī in the first century B. C. The conservative school of the Theravādins became apprehensive of the dismemberment of their sacred edifice.

According to Kern[2], in the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in the North, flourising in the domains of the Bactrian Greeks. The chronology based on literary documents being confused, it is unsafe to deduce any historical fact from traditions. It is a pity that, except for the clear cut evidence regarding the active state of Buddhism from the monuments and the epigraphic sources, literary proof is wanting.

1. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 425. f.
2. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 48.

Jainism :

The Hāthigumphā inscription[1], and a few others from Mathurā record dedications for Jainism. The invocation of the formulæ (*Namo arihaṁtānaṁ namo Savasiddhānam*), the contents of the Kaliṅga record, and other old Brāhmī inscriptions[2] disclose the activity of this religious order. It enjoyed the patronage of King Khāravela and other donors. Inscription No. 11 of Khāravela's chief queen records that the cave commemorating her name was cut for the sake of Kaliṅga recluses of Arhata persuation (*Arhaṁta-pasādānaṁ Kaliṅgānaṁ Samanānam*). During the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign, some 117 caves were excavated on the Kumārī hill to serve as resting places for the Arhats, or Jains residing there (*Arhato parinivāsato hi kāya-nisīdiyāya*)[3]. Besides Kaliṅga, Mathurā was also an important centre of Jainism. Amongst the inscriptions, found and edited by Buhler, the earliest has been assigned by him to the middle of the second century B. C. because of its exceedingly archaic characters and its language - pure Prākrit of the Pālī type. This inscription[4] records dedication of an ornamental arch for the temple, the gift of the lay hearer Utaradāsaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of Vacchī (Vatsī), mother and disciple of the ascetic Mahārakhita (Mahārakṣita). The Āmohinī tablet inscription, dated in the year 42 of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śodāṣa is another Jain record of about 15 B.C. or 15 A. D. Luders, while discussing the era of the Mahārāja and Rājātirāja, considered the Girdharpur and Lucknow Museum inscriptions of the years 270 and 292 (or 299) respectively. He presumed that the donors were Parthians who had immigrated to Mathūra during the rule of the Kṣatrapas, and, despite their joining the Jain fold, they upheld the traditions of their native country[5]. It is an important phase of Jainism which suggests the assimilation of foreigners in their religious order.

1. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. III. p. 425 f.
2. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* p. 279. f.
3. Barua - *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions* p. 28.
4. E. I. Vol. II. p. 199. No. 1.
5. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* p. 288.

Lokāyatas or Materialists :

The Lokāyatas were not unknown in that period. Patañjali has referred to Bhāguri as a famous exponent of this school who provided specimens of the Lokāyata doctrine according to his views (*varṇikā Bhāguri Lokāyatasya*), or way of life (*vārtikā Bhāguri lokāyatasya*)[1]. The name of the founder of this school - Cārvāka is not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but his philosophy was well-known. According to a legend in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2], Bṛhaspati taught demons false knowledge of which the reward lasts only so long as the pleasure exists, in order to hasten their destruction. In the *Ukthādigaṇa* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[3], a teacher and a pupil of this doctrine are called *Lokāyatika.* The system is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*[4] (*saṁvaraṇamātraṁ hi trayī lokayatrāvida iti*), and much earlier in a Jātaka[5]. A short account of this system is also given in the *Prabodhacandrodaya.* In the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha,* a very late work, the system is examined from the Vedantist standpoint, and Mādhava looks upon their philosophy as the lowest of all, but not to be ignored.

We have taken into account the religious condition of India during the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. One can hardly deny that with the advent of the Brahmanical Śuṅga ruler to power, there was a revival of Vedic sacrifices with greater enthusiasm, and the emperor himself performed two horse sacrifices. If the statement of Patañjali relating to the performance of sacrifice for Puṣyamitra be taken at its face value, then the Bhaṣyakāra probably officiated as a priest in any one of these two sacrifices. The other Vedic *Yajñas* were : Agniṣṭoma, Rājasuya, Vājapeya, and the Yūpa in which the sacrificial pillars of wood were set up. The householder had to perform the *Pañca-mahāyajña,* and the *Śrāddhas* for the manes. The

1. VII. 3.45 p. 325. L. 24.
2. VII. 8.
3. IV. 2.60.
4. p. 6.
5. VI. 286.

Vedic sacrifices, varying in duration and involving many accessories, were costly and complicated for ordinary people who were satisfied with devotion through propitiation. The Bhakti cult - confined to Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, and Śiva-was not new. The former was more popular and there were festive gatherings, as well as dramatic performances showing the life and activities of the Lord in his previous incarnations. The epigraphic and archæological pieces of evidence corroborate the popularity of this cult. The ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, and the Maskarins, evidently Ājīvikas; the Daṇḍins and the Daiṣṭi, and those of the Brāhmaṇs and Śramaṇas, and the presence of the materialists - the Lokāyatikas, show an interesting aspect of religious life. People had not shaken off the worship of the demi-gods - the Yakṣas and Nāgas with their female counterparts for fear and faith in them. An interesting study is the moral and ethical side of religious life, which manifested itself in the creation of dedications for Buddhism, though the names of the donors suggest a different faith. Buddhism and Jainism were not inactive, and the latter seems to be more liberal in its attitude towards outsiders, if the two inscriptions, quoted by Luders, have any socio-religious value.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE

The importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* lies, not merely in its attempt to elucidate with comments the Sūtras of Pāṇini taking into consideration the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, but also in the information it provides on the literature known to Patañjali, his use of the earlier data, and the ornate metres in poetry some of which were new. The Bhāṣyakāra was himself well versed in the Vedic, Sūtra and the Smṛti literatures; and one can trace parallelism in his work. There are references to characters from the Epics, the Purāṇas, Poetics or Kāvya with systematic use of metres, ornamentation (*alaṁkāra*), drama and dramatic literature, and popular fiction, known as *ākhyāna*. The grammarian also presents philosophical data in his work, and other topics, not mentioned in the previous chapters, as for example, Medicine, Polity and Administration, Natural Science including Biology. It is natural to presume from these references that there was some literature on these subjects with which Patañjali was familiar. As a literary piece, the *Mahābhāṣya* presents a style of its own, which has little room for ornamentation, and a clear comprehension is attainable with a patient study of the work. In this chapter, we propose considering these aspects in detail.

Vedic Literature and the Mahābhāṣya:

Besides a number of verses, given in parts[1] in the *Mahābhāṣya*

1. Cf. (i) *jarbharī turpharītū* - II. 1.1 p. 363, L. 25= R. V. X. 106. 6;
   (ii) *ojāyamānaṁ yo' hiṁ jaghāna* - III. 1. 11 p. 21, L. 4= *R. V.* II. 12. 11.
   (iii) *Marudbhir agna āgahi*— VI. 4. 22 p. 189, L. 2=R. V. I. 19. 1
   (iv) *nābhā pṛthivyā nihito davidyutat*—V. 4·47; p. 437 .L. 11=*A V.* VII. 621.

which are quoted from the Vedic literature, Patañjali actually mentions five verses in full which are taken from the *Ṛgveda* and are also adduced in later Vedic literature. The most important is the one which Sāyaṇa, in conformity with the opinion of Yāska and others, applies to Agni, identified either with Yajña or with Āditya. "Four are his horns, three are the feet that bear him; his heads are two, his hands are seven in number. Round with a triple bond the steer roars loudly; the Mighty God hath entered into mortals[1]". Mahīdhara's explanation of the verse differs from that of Sāyaṇa, and the four horns are priests, or nouns, verbs, prepositions and the indeclinables; the three feet are the Vedas, or the first, second and third persons, or the past, present and future tenses; the two heads are two sacrifices, or the agent and the object; the seven hands are the metres or the cases of the noun; and the three bonds are the three daily sacrifices, or the singular, dual and plural numbers[2]. A little modification can be suggested in the grammatical interpretation, as probably presumed by Patañjali, namely, the two heads represent two kinds of words - eternal (*nitya*) and resultant (*kārya*) which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*[3]. "Bound in three parts" i. e. bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head, . *Vṛṣabha* (the Bull) , (comes from the root *vṛṣa* - to shower - to fulfil desire), *roravīti* - or makes sound. The Great God, entering the mortals is the *Śabda-Brahman.* This raises the question of the doctrine of *sphoṭa* which finally identifies sound with *Brahman* itself. This is not the solitary verse from the *Ṛgveda* which has been quoted to stress the need for the study of grammar, but there is another interesting one[4] which is taken frem the *Ṛgveda.* It is a

1. *catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śirṣe saptahastāso asya*
tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyām aviveśeti
Mah I. 1·1 p. 3. LL. 15—16;=*R.* V. IV. 58.
3. *V. S.* 17. 91; *Mait. Saṁ.* I. 6. 29, 8⁷. 17.

2. Ref. Wilson: *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* Vol. III. p· 227 n. 1; also Griffiths trans. Vol. I. p. 462.

3. I. 1·1 p. 6, L. 27; IV. 4·1 p. 329, L. 4,

4. *Sudevo asi Varuṇa yasya te sapta sindhavaḥ*
anukṣaranti Kākudam surmyam suṣirām iva
Mah. 1.1.1 p. 4, LL. 27 - 28. R. V. VIII. 69. 12

praise to the glorious god Varuṇa, across whose palate the seven rivers keep pouring as a fair-flowing (stream) into an abyss. According to Sāyaṇa's[1] metaphysical explanation of the last words - *Sūrmyaṁ susirām iva* - they are quoted as applied by the grammarians to enforce the need for studying grammar, the seven rivers being taken to mean the seven declensional affixes. These two verses are quoted by Patañjali in his Introduction with a view to impressing on the minds of his readers that the study of grammar was absolutely necessary. He has all along stressed this fact; and it is considered as efficacious as the performance of a sacrifice. The stamp of Vedic sanctity was supposed to enhance the value of the subject matter of study, which could enable a person to have union with the Great God; and shine in truth (*śobhanām ūrmiṁ suṣirām agnir antaḥ*)[2].

Explaining the division of words - viz. the division of speech into four, three of which are not manifested, he has quoted another verse[3] from the *Ṛgveda*. 'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions, the Brāhmaṇas who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment cause no motion; of speech, men speak only the fourth division. According to Sāyaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas here are those acquainted with *Śabda-brahman*. The explanation of this mystical piece is different; and according to the grammatical interpretation of *catvāri vākparimitā padāni* - the four parts of speech are noun, verb, prepositions and participles[4].

The fourth from of speech (*catvāri*) is explained, according to some one else (*uta thaḥ*) as -"one (*man*) indeed seeing speech has not seen her ; another (*man*) hearing her has not heard her ; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well - attired presents

1. Ref. Wilson - Op. cit. Vol. V. p. 126, n. 2.

2. Mah. p. 5, L. 2.

3. *Catvāri vākparimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmāṇā ye maniṣiṇah guhā triṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyaṁ vāco manuṣyā vadanti Mah.* 1.1.1 p. 3. LL. 24-25 *R. V.* I. 164, 45. *A. V.* IX. 10·27

4. Wilson: Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 142; Muir: *Samskrit texts* Vol. II. p. 155.

herself to her husband[1]. Patañjali, qnoting this verse from the *Ṛgveda*, further elucidates it in his comment. As a well-dressed wife desiring her husband's company, presents gently her person (to him), so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech (a grammarian). This verse is equally important from the metaphorical point of view which one also notices in another verse[2] quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra from the *Ṛgveda*. "When the wise create speech through wisdom winnowing (sieving) it as (men winnow) barely with a sieve, then friends know friendship; good fortune is placed upon their word." The wise men, as explained by Patañjali, in their purified speech, sieve out corrupt words. From these verses, quoted in full, one draws the conclusion that Patañjali was not only well-grounded in the Vedas, but he fully utilized his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar, and tried to explain the mysterious meaning of some of the verses, quoted by him, in terms of grammatical values.

The influence of the later Vedic literature is not much on the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali no doubt quotes the Vedic recensions which is nothing unusual for a scholar like him. He, however, refers to the *Yājñavalkya* and *Saulabha Brāhmaṇas* (*Yājnavalkyāni Brāhmaṇāni - Saulabhāni*).[3] They were not early - texts because of the inapplicability of the Sūtra - *Chando-brāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāni* (IV. 2.66) which suggests that the affixes denoting the announcer, when added to the Chandas and the Brāhmaṇas express that relation only in the case of the two Brāhmaṇas stated above (*yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). The reference to different works in the Sūtra literature, like the *Vārttika Sūtra*, *Saṁgraha Sūtra* and

1. *Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśā vācam uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām uto tv asmai tanvaṁ vi-sasre jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ*
Mah. I. 1.1 p. 4. LL. 2-3; R. V. X. 71.4.

2. *Saktum iva titaunā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadraiṣāṁ lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci*
Mah. I. 1.1 p. 4. LL. 10-11; R. V. X. 71.2.

3. IV. 2.66 p. 285. L. 22.

Kalpa Sūtra[1] in the *Mahābhāṣya* only implies his familiarity with these works as with many *Kalpas*[2] - *Parāśara*, *Kāśyapa*, *Paiṅgi*, *Kuśika* and *Māhāvārttika*, which have been mentioned earlier.

Patañjali and Smṛti Literature : There are, however, a few passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* which can also be traced in the *Dharma Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis*. According to P. C. Chakravartty,[3] "Patañjali has given unmistakeable proof of his respectable knowledge of the *Dharma Śāstras* current in his time and numerous references to the Smṛti texts indicate that he made a careful study of *Dharma Sūtras*, such as those of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Gotama. He sometimes quotes verbatim passages from the texts, and sometimes gives the substance." On the other hand Mr. A. Ghosh has pointed out[4] that there is hardly any passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* from which we can definitely say that Patañjali brrowed from any of our present texts. His reference to the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* is very meagre and casual, and we can be certain that he shows no acquaintance with that text. Of the rest, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and Manu, nothing can be said except with the greatest diffidence. We may, however, consider the subject afresh taking into consideration the probable parallel references. It is just possible that there might have been a common source. The passages supposed to have been taken from these texts relate to the definitions of Āryāvarta,[5]

1. IV. 2.60 p. 284. L. 4.
2. IV. 2.66 p. 286. LL. 5-7.
3. I. H. Q. Vol. II. p. 276. f.
4. Ibid., Vol. XI. p. 77. f.
5. (a) *kaḥ punar Āryāvartaḥ - Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dākṣiṇena himavantam uttareṇa Pāriyātram*
   Māh. VI. 3.109 p. 174. LL. 7-8.
   (b) *Prāg adarśanāt pratyak kālakavanād dākṣiṇena himavantam udak pāriyātraṁ etad Āryāvartaṁ tasmin ca ācāras sa pramāṇam*
   Baud. I. 2. 10.
   (c) i. *Āryāvartaḥ Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād udakpāriyātrād dakṣiṇena himavataḥ uttareṇa ca vindhyasya* *Vas.* I. 8-9,
   ii. *Gaṅgāyamunayor antare 'py eke - yāvad vā kṛṣṇamṛgo vicarati tāvad brahmavarcasam ity anye* *Vas.* I. 12-13.

Śiṣṭas[1] whose custom and behaviour is to be followed as a model, certain rules of etiquette and social conduct, like voiding at a distance from one's house[2], abstinence from drink for a Brāhmaṇī,[3] greeting a lady[4], and a youth taking airs before an old man[5], which are noticed in the Smṛti texts, though with slight variations.

Regarding the definition of Āryāvarta, with particular reference to its boundaries, there seems unanimity of expression between Baudhāyana and Patañjali, except that Baudhāyana substitutes the word Vinaśana for Ādarśa. According to Vasiṣṭha, Āryāvarta was the region between Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where the black antelope roamed about in 'spiritual pre-eminence'. Patañjali has

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1. (a) i. *ke punaḥ śiṣṭāḥ - vaiyākaraṇāḥ - kuta etat - śāstrapūrvikā hi śiṣṭir vaiyākaraṇāś ca śāstrajñāḥ - yadi tarhi śāstrapūrvikā śiṣṭiḥ śiṣṭipūrvakaṁ ca śāstraṁ tad itaretarāśrayam bhavati- itaretarāśrayāṇi ca na prakalpante evaṁ tarhi nivāsata ācāratas ca - sa ca ācāra āryāvarta eva.*
Mah. VI. 3.109 p. 174.
ii. *etasmin āryanivāse ye Brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhanyā alolupā agṛhyamāṇakāraṇaḥ kiṁcid antareṇa kasyāścid vidyāyāḥ pāragās tatra bhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ*
Ibid. LL. 8-11.
(b) *śiṣṭā khalu vigatamatsarāḥ nirahaṅkārāḥ kumbhīdhānyā alolupā dambhadarpalobhamohakrodha vivarjitāḥ*
Baudh. I. 5.
pāramparyagato yeṣāṁ vedaḥ saparibṛṁhaṇaḥ te śiṣṭā brāhmaṇā jñeyāḥ śrutipratyakṣa hetavaḥ
Vas. VI. 43.
2. *dūrad āvasathān mūtram dūrāt pādāvasecanam dūrāc ca bhāvyaṁ dasyubhyo dūrāc ca kupitād guroḥ*
Mah. II. 3.35 p. 457. LL. 22-23.
3. *Yā Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati naināṁ devāḥ patilokaṁ nayanti*
Mah. III. 2.8 p. 99. L. 7.
4. *kāmam teṣu tu viprasya strīṣv iva ayam ahaṁ vadet*
Mah. I. 1.1 p. 3. L. 8.
5. *ūrdhvam prāṇā hy utkrāmanti yūnaḥ sthavira āyati pratyutthānābhivādābhyām punas tān pratipadyata iti.*
Mah. VI. 1.84 p. 58. LL. 8-9.

not mentioned this fact, which according to the commentary of Viśvarūpa on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*"[1] was sacrifice assuming that form while wandering over the earth, followed by Dharma in its wanderings. The absence of this tradition in the *Mahābhāṣya*, in connection with the limits of Āryāvarta, is an important fact which cannot be overlooked, as it is noted by the other two - Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha,

A Śiṣṭa according to Baudhāyana, was expected to be free from envy and pride, keeping only as much as was measured by a *kumbhī*, immune from greed and hypocrisy, annoyance, covetousness, delusion and anger. He studied the Vedas according to the prescribed method together with the appendages, that is, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, and knew how to draw inferences. The definition of the Śiṣṭas in the *Mahābhāṣya* corresponds exactly to that of *Baudhāyana*, while that of Vasiṣṭha is general, since it defines the Śiṣṭas as those whose mind was free from desires. There appears to be close affinity in the conception, despite slight variations in words.

The third parallelism refers to voiding at a distance from one's house, washing one's feet at a distance and *nīti*, as for example, the advice to remain at a distance from robbers, as well as from an angry teacher. In this connection it may be interesting to quote another passage tabooing voiding while standing, and taking food while walking *abrāhmāṇo 'yaṁ yas tisthan mūtrayati abrāhmaṇo 'yam yo gacchan bhakṣayati*).[2] As regards the first point, Manu,[3] Āpastamba[4], Gautama[5], and Yājñavalkya[6] have all condemned

1. I. 2.
2. II 2.6 p. 411, L. 22.
3. *durād āvasathān mūtraṁ durāt pādāvasecanam* IV. 151.
4. *ārāc ca āvasathān mūtrapurīṣe kuryād dakṣiṇāṁ diśaṁ dakṣiṇāparāṁ vā*
   Ap. I. 11.31.2.
5. *narāc ca āvasthāt*
   I. 9. 39.
6. *dūrād ucchiṣṭa vinmūtrapādāmbhāṁsi samutsṛjet*
   I. 154.

voiding near one's house, but urinating, while standing, is disapproved in the *Atharvaveda*[1] as well. On the second point, no Smṛti parallelism can be traced.

The next parallelism relates to the drinking of wine by a Brāhmaṇī who, for her act, is not entitled to the company of her lord in the next world. Vasiṣṭha[2] has also mentioned it, but he is more strict and deprives her of her accumulated *puṇyas* or spirtual gains. According to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*,[3] *surā*, and the scum of boiled rice in addition (to the *pindas*) are offered to the wives (of the ancestors.) M. M. Kane suggests[4] that women drank, perhaps secrectly, liquor even when their husbands, owing to the force of public opinion, had given up the practice. All the authorities have denied all kinds of intoxicants to Brāhmaṇaś in all stages of life.[5]

One passage has an exact corresponding reference in the *Manu Smṛti*.[6] 'For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them'. Manu has stresssd on constantly paying reverence to the aged.

These are the parallel passages, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as in the Smṛtis. There are certain other matters mentined by the Bhāṣyakāra, and the opinion expressed on them is identical with the injunctions or sanctions of the Smṛtis on those items; as

1. VII. 107.1.
2. *Yā brāhmaṇī ca surāpī na tāṁ devāḥ patilokaṁ nayanti*
   ihaiva sā carati kṣīṇapuṇyāpṣu lug bhavati śuktikā vā
   XXI. 11.
3. II. 5.5.
4. *Hist. Hindu. Dharm Śāstras* Vol. II. pt. II. p. 794.
5. *Gaut.* II.25; *Āp. Dham.* I.5.17.21; *Manu.* XI.94. A Brāhmaṇi, who transgresses the law, is denied access to the region of her husband, and is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow, or a vulture.' Cf. Mitra J. A S. B. - 1873 p. 9).
6. *Mah.* VI. 1.84 p. 58, L1. 8 - 9 *Manu.* II 120.

for instance, the reference to the killing of a Brāhmaṇa, even though not knowing it, and drinking wine with the consequent fall from one's caste (*yo hy ajānan vai brāhmaṇaṁ hanyāt surāṁ vā pibet so 'pi manye patitaḥ syāt*) - The murder of a Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as a *mahāpātaka* - a great sin by Vasiṣṭha[2] and Viṣṇu,[3] These minor items include injunction against eating forbidden food, or the sale of beef, and customary regulations, salutation and other matters of every day life which, in substance, though not in the same words, can be traced in Smṛtis.

The views, expressed by the two scholars, are of a divergent nature, and it may be going too far to enter into minute details. One can hardly deny that Patañjali knew at least some of the older Dharma Sūtras, otherwise he could not have quoted certain matters of customary or day to day interest; which have nothing to do with grammar. On some points, there may have been a common source for both the Bhāṣyakāra and the Smṛtikāras. While the influence of the *Dharma Śāstras* on the *Mahābhāṣya* - amounting to the borrowing of material in substance and language, might be practically negligible, one can hardly deny that Patañjali was in the know of then literature dealing with the Law of Dharma. As regards the period of the Dharma Śāstras according to M. M. Kane,[4] those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C.; and in the second century B. C., they had attained a position of supreme authority regulating the conduct of men.

The Mahābhāṣya and the Epics and the Purāṇas :—

Patañjali has distinguished the legends (*Itihāsa*) and Purāṇas clearly. (*vākovākyam itihāsaḥ purāṇam*)[5]. *Itihāsa* included the

1. I. 1.1 p.2, L.26.
2. I. 20.
3. XXXV. 1.
4. op. cit. Vol. I. p.9.
5. I. 1.1 p.9, L.22.

epics, and Patañjali was familiar with the oldest specimens. Pāṇini seems to have known the story of the Mahābhārata in its earlier recension, as he has mentioned certain important characters of the story of Vāsudeva and Arjuna[1]. Patañjali also refers to the Pāṇḍavas[2] and the Kauravas[3], including Gāndhāri and Kuntī[4], and Vṛṣṇi[5], the Brāhmaṇa senāpati Droṇa and his son Aśvatthāman[6]. He mentions the stories of Yāvakrītika[7] and Yāyātika[8] which are fully narrated in the *Mahābhārata*[9]. The reference to Viśvāmitra and his attainment of Ṛṣihood (*Viśvāmitras tapas tepe nānṛṣiḥ syām iti*)[10], is also taken from the *Mahābhārata*. The popular lenged of Kaśyapa Prajāpati with his two wives - *Ditī* and *Aditī*, who gave birth to demons and gods respectively, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣaya*[11], can be traced in the *Mahābhārata*[12]. The story of Śuka, son of Vyāsa who had imbibed all knowledge, while still in the womb of his mother, is also mentioned by Patañjali (*vaiyāsaki śukaḥ*)[13]. There are also allusions to Nārada and Parvata[14] the two celestial sages, and the anecdote of King Ambarīṣa (*Ambarīṣaputraka*)[15]. Other illustrations, noticed by the Bhāṣyakāra and probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*, are those of Ahalyā[16] and Indra, Divodāsa[17], and Satyabhāmā[18], the

1. IV. 3.98.
2. IV. 1.114 p.257; VIII. 1.15 p.371, L.1.
3. IV. 2.1?0 p. 300, L.1; III. 3.130 p.157, L.10.
4. IV. 1.14 p.206, L.4.
5. IV. 2.130 p.300, L. 7.
6. IV. 1.85 p.237, L.2.
7. III. 2.122 p.122, L.21.
8. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.8.
9. *Vana*, chap. 135, 8; *Udyo* Chap. 120-2.
10. IV. 1.104 p.254, L.17.
11. I. 1.72 p.185, L. 10.
12. I. 64.2480.
13. IV. 1.97 p.253, L.5; *Mah.* XIII. 84-85.
14. VIII. 1.15 p.371. L.1.
15. IV. 2.52 p 282, L.16
16. II. 2.62 p.466, L.15.
17. VI. 2.91 p.132, L.9.
18. I. 1.45 p.111, L.24.

consort of Kṛṣṇa. Patanjali also mentions Kurus fighting righteously (*dharmena sma kuravo yudhyante*[1]'. The incidents and characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are few. Special reference may be made of Rāvaṇi (son of Rāvaṇa)[2], Indrajit ,the army of the monkeys (*vānara sainyā*,)[3] the liberation af Ahalyā, referred to earlier, and the cave Kiṣkindhya[4] (mentioned in the definition of Āryāvarta), and names of certain ṛṣis like Vasiṣṭha Jābāli,[5] Viśvāmitra and Auddālaki[6].

The relation of the *Mahābhāṣya* to the Purāṇas may be traced in parallel references, both in expression and in substance, Since the Purāṇas are characterized by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, different yugas, dynasties of Kings, and other extraneous matters like fables and superstitions, it may be interesting to find out data relating to such topics in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Bhāṣyakāra does cite certain information of a metrological and astromonical nature, as for example, his reference to the colours in the sky denoting atmospheric results - brownish for wind, red for lightening, yellow prognosticating a good harvest, and white an indication for famine;[7] and an allusion to a mirage (*mṛgatṛṣṇāvat*) or the cities of the gandharvas (*gandharvanagarāṇi*)[8]. It is difficult to see in these references any parallelism. The earliest of the Purāṇas is supposed to be the *Vāyu* which is expressly named in *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivaṁśa*. A study of the cultural data from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has recently been made,[9] and the material is classified under archaic survivals, ancient materials, and accretions. In the second class the writer has placed the material aligning with the

1. III. 2.120 p.122, L.21.
2. I. 1.57 p.144, 20.
3. 1. 3.25 p.281, L,9.
4. II. 4.10 p.475, L.4.
5. II. 4.58 p.489, L.6.
6. II. 4.66 p.493, L.16.
7. *vātāya kapilā vidyud ātapāya atilohinī*
   pitā bhavati sasyāya durbhikṣāya sitā bhavet
   II. 2.13 p.449, LL.25 - 26.
8. IV. 1.3 p.196, L.21.
9. Patil : *Some aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa* p. 47.

early Dharma Śāstras, the early Buddhist and Jain canonical literature, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Manu Smṛti* and the earlier portion of the *Mahābhārata*. Comparing the information of a social nature, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* meat eating is regarded as a characteristic of the Piśācas[1], but in the *Mahābhāṣya*, only the flesh of five-five nailed animals is to be taken; other meat could not be taken. Drinking is also condemned as a sin, as a *surāpā* is looked down upon as a great sinner[2]. It is stated that in the Kāli age, (even) women will be fond of wine and similar vices[3]. Traces of such common links can be noticed because Hindu life has not changed so much from its original phase; but exact parallel wordings are not to be found. It is not improbable that Patañjali, while referring to to compound, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*, had some such work in mind, which might probably have been *Vāyu-Purāṇa*; but there is no certainty on this point. Winternitz has pointed out[4] that there certainly existed an ancient Purāṇa under this name (Vāyu). We may be right in inferring its existence and Patañjali's knowledge of this Purāṇā, but such parallel references, as we find in the case of Vedic and Smṛti passages, are wanting here.

Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature:

Patañjali quotes a number of passages written in the Kāvya-style and actually refers to a Kāvya by Vararuci (*Vārarucaṁ kāvyam*)[5], who is identified by some with the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana[6].

1. p.69; 63.2517.
2. 82.367.
3. 58.43.
4. *His. Ind. Lit.* Vol. I. p.534.
5. IV. 3.101 p.315, L.18.
6. Ref. T. Gangapati Śāstri - *Vārauca Saṁgraha*-preface p.1. This manuscript, edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series(No. 33), only about two centuries old, has a running commentary by Dīpaprabhā who has quoted Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa, Jinendra and Haradatta, but no author posterior to him. Vararuci has been extolled by the commentator to a position of great eminence, equal to that of the Sūtrakārā in respect of freedom of language, and would appear to identify him with Vararuci, otherwise known as Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas. Gaṇapati Śāstri, however, places him in the time of Vikramāditya,

Fragments of verses of ornate form, which may have been either his own composition, or taken from some earlier source are also noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Bhāṣyakāra alludes to the poetic license in the expression-*chandovat kavayaḥ kurvanti*[1], and actually mentions a *chandaḥśāstra*[2]. In the light of these references, we may consider the extent to which Patañjali utilized Kāvya poetry in his comments. This study might reveal the poetic talents of the Bhāṣyakāra who, possibly, composed some verses himself, and secondly, it would suggest the existence of Kāvya poetry and literature in his time. Patañjali could not possibly have set his hand to the poetic verses in his commentary without an adequate knowledge of the rules of metrical composition, or if he probably borrowed from some other source, then in that case the existence of the Kāvya literature earlier than Patañjali cannot be questioned. We may suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra was conscious of the canons and characteristics of the Kāvya poetry in both its themes and its ornamentation. Despite the fact that there is no room for such poetry in a work on grammar, one notices flashes in the form of fragmentary verses in the *Mahābhāṣya*, likely to stimulate the reader in the difficult task of following the commentary.

From Parañjali's references it is clear that from its very dawn, love is established as one of the dominant themes of Kāvya poetry. The widely diffused Kāvya manner and its prevailing love interest permeatates even the domain of grammar; and we notice references like, *varatanu saṁpravadanti kukkuṭāḥ*[3] - 'O fair - limbed one, the cocks unite to proclaim'. The illustration is given by Patañjali for the inapplicability of the Sūtra - *vyaktavācāṁ samuccārane*, in the case of birds or lower animals who are incapable of making articulate speech, even though they make a chorus of noise. The other reference of a rather erotic nature is *priyām mayūraḥ pratinarnṛtīti yad-vat tvaṁ naravaranar nṛtīṣi hṛṣṭaḥ*[4] - the peacock dances

1. I. 4.3 p.313, L.5
2. I. 2.32 p. 208, L.19.
3. I. 3.48 p. 283, L. 3.
4. VII. 3.87 p. 338, L. 23.

towards his beloved: and another - *ā vanāntād odakāntāt priyam pāntham anuvrajed iti*[1]. 'Let her follow the wanderer she loveth to the ends of the woods to the ends of water'. There is a parallel reference from the *Ṛgveda*, quoted earlier, which can also be mentioned here. It compares speech to a loving wife, well attired, presenting herself to her husband (*jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ*)[2]. The introduction of this love element may have been due to Patañjali's desire to interest his reader. Love poetry is very common in Sanskrit literature.

The Bhāṣyakāra uses epic or panegyric poetry, pathos, gnomicism, and *nīti* relating to political wisdom in maxims. The first aspect is seen in addresses like *prathate tvayā patimatī pṛthivī*[3] - 'the earth with thee as a Lord is celebrated as wide', and in *jaghāna Kaṁsaṁ kila vāsudevaḥ*[4] - 'Vasudeva slew Kaṁsa;' and in other reference - *asidvitīyo 'nusāra Pāṇḍavam*[5] 'with sword as mate he attacked Pāṇḍu's son'. These references are supposed to refer to anecdotes of the past from which Patañjali took only fragmentary verses to illustrate his commentary. These are important for their epic character, as well as, with reference to the works from which they are taken.

Pathos or deep sentiment is expressed in verses, like

yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi putre jāte gavāṁ dadau
brāhmaṇebhyaḥ priyākhyebhyaḥ so 'yam uñchena jīvati[6]

'One on whose birth ten thousand kine were given to the Brāhmaṇas who announced the good tidings, now lives on gleaning". This verse seems to refer to some anecdote. Gnomic poetry is noticed in verses like,

1. I. 4.56 p. 340, L 14.
2. Mah. I. 1.1 p. 44 2-3; R. V. X. 714.
3. IV. 1. 32 p. 213, L. 17.
4. III. 1.111 p. 119, L. 7.
5. II. 2.24 p. 426, L. 8.
6. I. 4.3 p. 313, L1. 12 - 13.

tapaḥ śrutaṁ ca yoniś cety etad brāhmaṇakārakam[1]

tapaḥśrutābhyāṁ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ

'Asceticism, learning, birth, these make the Brāhmaṇa; he who lacks asceticism and learning is a Brāhmaṇa by birth alone.' The same idea is also expressed in another verse.

trīṇi yasya avadātāni vidyā yoniś ca karma ca

etac chivam vijānīhi brāhmaṇagrasya lakṣaṇam iti[2]

Necessity knows no law - and nothing seems right to a hungry man - (*bubhukṣitaṁ na pratibhāti kiṁcit*)[3]. In another passage he condemns an adulterer who commits sin with his teacher's wife (*dhvaṁsate gurutalpagaḥ*)[4]. An interesting maxim regarding the education of children relates to the harshness of the teacher which is for the good of the pupil -

sāmṛtaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na viṣokṣitaiḥ[5]

lāḍanāśrayiṇo doṣās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāh

'Fraught with life, not with poison, the blows that teachers give; vice grows by indulgence, virtue prospers by reproof' In one passage, possibly taken from the *Mahābhārata,* emphasis is laid on the factor playing an important part in life - destruction is inevitable for all in course of time (*kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ samharati prajāḥ*)[6]. The character of a drunkard; never wearied of his drink, is compared to the inevitability of death in a verse :

ahar ahar nayamāno gām aśvam puruṣam paśum[7]

vaivasvato na tṛpyati surayā iva durmadī

'Though day by day he takes his toll in cattle, horses, men, and beasts, Vivasvant's son is never tired of, as a drunkard is never wear-

1. V. 1.115 p. 363, LL.14-15.
2. IV. 1.48 p. 220, LL.8-9.
3. II. 3.2 p. 444. L. 11.
4. III. 2 48 p. 1 3, L. 15: Cf. *Manu.* XI 103-4.
5. VIII. 1.8 p. 367, LI. 12-13.
6. III. 3.167 p. 167, L. 12.
7. II. 2.29 p. 431. LI. 3-4.

ied of his wine'. There is another maxim which suggest political wisdom - *kṣeme subhikṣe kṛtasaṁcayāni purāṇi rājñāṁ vinayanti kopam*[1] 'citadels well stored in peace and abundance calm the wrath of kings'.

Kielhorn has mentioned[2] in all 260 verses, including those, written in different metres-the ordinary Ārya, about 40 verses; portions of an Ārya two; Gīti-one verse and a half: the ordinary Śloka - about 165 verses, three quarters of a verse, half-verses; and quarter-verses Vaktra with half a verse; Vidyunmāta with a quarter verse; Samānī, Indravajrā, Upajāti, Dodhaka, Śālini, Vaṁśasthā, Toṭaka, Jagatī and irregular Tṛṣṭubh or Jagatī verses Keith also referred[3] to specimens of such ornate metres as the Mālatī, the Praharṣiṇī, the Pramitākṣarā, and the Vasantatilaka, besides the normal Śloka and Triṣṭubh. He suggested that the new metres lead us into a different sphere from the Vedic metres, and striking light on this development is afforded by the metre of the Kārikas, mostly, if not all, written probably by the predecessers of Patañjali, which deal with disputed points of grammar. 'The richness and elaboration of metre, in striking contrast to the comparative freedom of Vedic and epic literature, must certainly have arisen from poetical use; it can not have been invented for grammatical memorial verses, for which a simple metre might better suffice.' In the light of the commentator's views Kielhorn has suggested that some of the verses in the *Mahābhāṣya* are by Kātyāyana, and others by another author of Vārttikas; but these commentators also assign some verses to the Bhāṣyakāra[4].

1. V. 4.68 p. 438, L. 9.
2. I. A. Vol. XIV. p. 326 f; Vol. XV. p. 229.
3. *Hist. Sans. Lit.* p. 47.
4. 'When the term Śloka Vārttikakāra is opposed to the term Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III. p.189 or by Bhartṛhari on Vol. I. p. 36, 'writes Kielhorn, "both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgojibhaṭṭa to tell us that the Vārttikāra (or Vākyakāra) is, Kātyāyana, and the Śloka Vārttikakāra

(Contd. on next page)

It appears from Kielhorn's remarks, that a good many of the verses in question, either in fragments or in full, have been taken by Patañjali from some earlier works between the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, so that the Bhāṣyakāra quietly borrowed them without acknowledging the source. He borrowed from older works which were in verse, and we should regard these books as the source of those verses to which he appended an occasional remark only,[1] or the meaning of which he merely indicated in a general way.[2] We should, however, like to take a broad view proposing that the Kāvya literature was known in the time of Patañjali, which should not be disputed in view of the reference to the Vararuci Kāvya in the *Mahābhāṣya*. As regards, Kielhorn's contention, it would be idle to deny the authorship of the Śloka Vārttikas to Patañjali, and to condemn him as a plagiarist would exhibit a narrow view. His wide reading and balanced outlook, anxious to make his commentary understandable to the Śiṣṭas, not only with illustrations, but even with a change from prose to poetic verses, was a good method adopted by the Bhāṣyakāra. Some half or quarter verses and maxims may have been taken from earlier works, as he borrowed from the Vedic literature, but the Śloka Vārttikas appear to be his own composition. for which he was well unequipped by reason of his literary talents[3]. Kielhorn has mentioned 165 ordinary Ślokas, which were very probably written by the Bhāṣyakara. As regards the use of new metres,

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another"; he suggests that the verses which have been explained in the *Mahābhāṣya* do not belong to Kātyāyana, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that these works were composed after the Vārttikas. Though they were written in verse, their aim was the same, which Patañjali had in view when writing his own work, to elucidate, correct and improve on the Vārttikas, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini, or with the system of Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana. (Ref. I. A. Vol. XV. p. 229).

1. I. 1.38 p. 96, Ll. 1-5; III 2.188 p. 137. Ll. 4-7.
2. I. 1.57 p.147, Ll. 12-13.
3. Peterson, in a paper on 'Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian', suggested on the basis of his reading of Vallabhadeva's Subhāsitāvali, who ascribes certain verses to Pāṇini, that "Pāṇini is not the only name which is connected by Indian tradition with the two muses of Grammar and Poetry. What is true of Pāṇini is true of his two commentators, Katyāyana or Vararuci, and Patañjali." (J. R. A. S. 1911. p. 321).

distinct from the Vedic ones, they may have been in use earlier than the time of Patañjali in the Kāvyas, unknown to us, or some may have been his own creations.

Patañjali and Popular Literature :—

The Bhāṣyakāra was aware of the popular literature dealing with tales taken from the epics, or of an independent nature, which were current in that period. He refers to tales about Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti[1], and has furnished names of three *Ākhyāyikās*, namely Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhīmarathī[2]. The two general terms used are - *Ākhyāna* and *Ākhyāyikā* - the former is traced in the Vedic literature[3] as well, and, though the latter occurs only once in the late *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, its significance is doubtful. According to Keith, the story is naturally related in prose, but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse form. Later on stanzas were inserted in the narrative itself which are not maxims, but, like the label, refer definitely to the tale itself, and, thus, we achieve the use of *Ākhyāna* or narrative verses. The *Ākhyāyikā*, apart from merely formal requirements, was a serious composition generally dealing with facts of experience and having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical interest; and it was distinct from a *Kathā* which was essentially a fictitious narrative[4]. The stories of Vāsavadattā and Sumanottarā seem to be very popular in that period. The heroine of the first story was the wife of King Udayana of Vatsa to whom she offered herself against the wishes of her father Pradyota. The name is also given to the heroine of Subandhu's novel who is represented to have been betrothed by her father to Puṣpaketu, but was carried away by Kandarpaketu. The second one is a very late story. The *Ākhyānas* of Yavakrīta and Yayāti are related in the *Mahābhārata*[5].

1. IV. 2.60 p. 284. L. 8.
2. IV. 3.87 p. 313. L. 22.
3. *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 52.
4. Das Gupta and Dey : *His. Sans. Lit.* p. 203; Cf. De. B. S. O. S. III. 1925, pp. 507-17.
5. III. 135 LL. 10701-35; I. 75 LL. 3126-28.

There are a few interesting stories and anecdotes which are also noticed in the *Mahābh-ṣya*. The one under the title Vṛddhakumārī[1] is narrated by Patañjali. A virgin in her advanced age was told by Indra to ask for a boon. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. By a single boon she managed to secure all she desired - a husband, sons, cows and rice. This applied to a sentence having a variety of meaning.

The bird fables are also quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra - as for example, *Kākatālīyam*[2] - which expression stands for the manner of the crow and the palm fruit - meaning unexpected death as in the fable of the fruit of the palm falling unexpectedly at the moment of the alighting of a crow and killing it (*kāka gamanam iva tālapatanam iva*), and *ajākṛpāṇīyam*[3] - the maxim of the she-goat and the sword. It is founded on the story of a goat being suddenly killed by accidental contact with a sword. Both these stories are used to illustrate a surprising event happening altogether by chance. Another story, quoted by Patañjali, corresponds to a Buddhist Jātaka story. Under 1. 3. 25 (*upān mantrakaraṇe*) - Patañjali gives as an instance of the first Vārttika *ādityam upatiṣṭhate* - 'he adores the sun'; and he quotes the instance of a monkey who apes the adoration of the sun in a crowd (or army) of monkeys (*paśya vānarasainye 'smin yad arkam upatiṣṭhate*)[4]. This illustration may be compared to the *Ādiccupaṭṭhānajātaka*)[5]. In this connection it is equally interesting to notice certain maxims of a popular nature, and it is probable that they were taken from the literature dealing with the subject, though some may have been used in conversation. Some of them are traced in later Sanskrit works. The maxims of the well-digger - *kūpakhānakanyāyaḥ*[6]; something on which a crow is perched - *kākādhikaraṇan-*

1. IV, 2.3 p. 388, L. 10 f.
2. V. 3.106 p. 429. LL. 8-9.
3. II. 1.3 p. 377, L. 14.
4. I. 3.25 p. 281, L. 1.
5. J. II. 72-3.
6. I. 1.1 p. .11, L. 7

yāyaḥ[1]; the rice in the cooking pot-*sthālīpulākanyāyaḥ*[2], meaning that the condition of the whole class is inferred from that of a pot; a mongoose standing on hot ground - *avataptenakulasthitam*[3] used in the sense of a fickle person, also known as *tīrthakāka*[4], or the crow at a centre of pilgrimage, are notable. Some of these may have originated from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself[5], as for example, men do not refrain from setting the cooking pots on fire because there are beggars (who may ask for the contents), nor do they abstain from sowing barley because there are wild animals (*na hi bhikṣukāḥ santi iti sthālyo nādhiśrīyante na ca mṛgāḥ santi iti yavā nopyanti*)[6].

A few more may be quoted here, as for instance - an iguana creeping along does not on that account become a snake. (*nahi godhā sarpantī sarpaṇād ahir bhavati*)[7], or curd and cucumber are fever personified (*dadhitrapusam pratyakṣo jvaraḥ*[8]) and water in a bed of reeds is a disease of the feet (*naḍvalodakam pāda-rogaḥ*)[9].

Patañjali and Drama:

The existence of drama in its true form in the time of Patañjali has engaged the attention of many scholars[10]. Patañjali, commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, explaining the use of the present in the phrases cited, when the events described lie in the distant past, has mentioned two examples, that of the slaying of Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali. Since the passage has been a subject of great discussion, it may be quoted here in full : *ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite*

1. I. 1.26 pp. 84-85.
2. I. 4.23 p. 325. L. 23.
3. II. 1.47 p. 397. L. 17.
4. II. 1.42 p. 397. L. 7.
5. Jacob. Popular Maxims Vol. 2. p. 42.
6. I. 39 p. 99. L. 25; IV. 1.1 p. 194. L. 17 etc.
7. I. 1.23 p. 82. L. 3 ;
8. I. 1.59 p. 156. L. 8.
9. Ibid. L. 9.
10. Weber: *Ind. Stud.* XIII. p. 488. f; Levi: *Theatre indien* p. 308 f; Luders: S.B.A.W. 1916 p. 698 f; Hillebrandt: Z.D.M.G. 1. xxii p. 227 f Keith: B.S.O.S. I.iv 27 f; *Sans. Dram.* p. 31. f.

pratyakṣaṁ Kaṅsaṁ ghātanti pratyakṣaṁ ca Baliṁ bandhayantīti. Citreṣu katham ? citreṣu apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante Kaṅsakarṣaṇyaś ca. granthikeṣu kathaṁ yatra śabdagaḍumātraṁ lakṣyate ? te 'pi hi teṣām utpattiprabhṛty ā vināśād ṛddhīr vyācakṣāṇāḥ ṣato buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti. ātaś ca sato vyāmiśrā hi dṛśyante. kecit Kaṅsabhaktā bhavanti, kecid Vāsudevabhaktāḥ varṇānyatvaṁ khalv api puṣyanti : kecid raktamukhā bhavanti kecid kālamukhāḥ[1]. Vārttika 6 makes it certain that the sense of the verb must involve the idea of description (*tad ācaṣṭa iti*), and so it justifies the use of the causative. Now, there could be three possible ways, as suggested by scholars, of describing the scenes of the past : by showing them actually on the stage; or by painting scenes on the canvas and the audience could observe the depicting of the blows rained on Kaṅsa, or the binding of Bali; or by the Śaubhikas explaining to the audience shadow figures. The second and the third explanations seem to be inconsistent with the meaning which Patañjali intended to convey. The word *pratyakṣam* is important in this respect. Hillebrandt's presumption[2] that the Śaubhikas carried round pictures which they explained, or Luders' assumption[3] that a painter explained to an audience the picture he had painted, are contrary to the sense we get from this passage. There can be no doubt that the Śaubhikas related the two stories by action and not by presentation in pictures or in words.

The other expression *śabdagaḍumātraṁ lakṣyate,* is considered by Keith to be painfully obscure, since *gaḍu* bears no recognized meaning which fits the passage. It cannot be equated with *grantha,* as presumed by Luders, nor can it inflict on "Patañjali the sin of verbiage, since *Śabdamātram* would yield the requisite sense, as observed by Hillebrandt". The use of colouring, red and black is equally important and it is presumed that the Granthikas formed two parties whose diverse colour marked their nature as supporters

1. III. 1.26 p. 36,
2. Op. cit.
3. Op. cit.

of Kaṅsa or Vāsudeva. Keith suggested[1] that the development of the epic recitation depicted by Patañjali is in itself, as Professor Levi has shown[2], the most obvious prelude to the growth of the true drama, and the parallel of the dithyramb is too clear to admit of denial". He explained the passage of Patañjali, interpreted in the light of the Vārttika in a simple and plain sense - the slaying of Kaṅsa and the binding of Bali lie in the distinct past, but one may say *Kaṅsaṁ ghātayati* or *Balim bandhayati*, "he describes the slaying ofKaṅsa, the binding of Bali of the painter whose vivid art brings the scene before our eyes, and the same expressions, in the plural, are applicable to the Śaubhikas, who present in dumb show the scenes, and the Granthikas, who recite, dividing themselves into two parties distinguished by their colour". It is therefore clear that there was union of action of the Śaubhikas to the recitation of the Granthikas which gives the full dramatic form, but Keith doubted whether by Patañjali's time drama had actually evolved, and the Śaubhikas and Granthikas represent older stages in the development still existing independently, or the process of evolution was incomplete[3].

Now, it appears that scholars have not taken into consideration, the other evidence provided by the Bhāṣyakāra nor have they viewed it from indigenons dramatic perspective. Patañjali quotes references to the *naṭas* or actors - *naṭasya śṛṇoti*[4], *agāsīn naṭaḥ*[5], *naṭasyabhuktam*[6] and *sarvakeśī naṭaḥ*[7]. One important passage - *ātas ca upayogo yadā ārambhakā raṅgaṁ gacchanti naṭasya śroṣyāmo granthikasya śroṣyāma iti*[8], clearly suggests that recitations were made both by the *naṭas* and the *granthikas :* and the expression *āram-*

1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. B.S.O.S. Vol. I. iv. p. 31.
4. 1.4.29 p. 329. L. 6.
5. II. 4.77 p. 495. L. 12.
6. II. 3.67 p. 468. L. 19.
7. II. 1.69 p. 404. L. 16,
8. I. 4.29 p. 329. LL. 7-8.

bhakā points to the commencement of an action which awakens an interest in the progress of the principal plot. It is clear that this refers to the Sūtradhāra who first enters the stage and suggests to the audience the name of the drama which is to be staged. In another reference, Patañjali has mentioned *naṭabhāryā* who had to please many people on the stage(*naṭānām striyo rangam yatā yo yaḥ prcchati kasya yūyam kasya yūyam iti tam tam tava tava ity āhuḥ*)[1]. A male also played female's part and was known as *bhrukumsa*[2]. In the light of these references, is it at all doubtful that drama in its true form, and dramatic literature were unknown in the time of Patañjali ? Even Pāṇini referred to *naṭasūtras*[3], the texts for the *naṭas*. Keith was not in a position to establish the meaning of *naṭa* which, according to him, might mean no more than a pantomime[4].

Patañjali and Philosophical Data :

Patañjali tried to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles, such as the reference to the eternality of *Śabda*, the exposition of the doctrine of *Sphoṭa*, and the application of the principle of Agreement and Difference or positive and negative propositions (*anvaya-vyatireka*)[5]. As regards the first aspect, the Bhāṣyakāra mentions the names of two eminent grammarians, namely *Vyāḍi*[6] and *Vājapyāyana*[7], the former being the author of a big treatise called *Samgraha*, and spoken of by the Bhāṣyakāra as authoritative (*Samgraha etatprādhānyena*)[8]. He also developes the theme of the externality of *Śabda* by which he meant *Sphoṭa* - the eternal and imperceptible element of sounds and words and the real vehicle of the idea which bursts or flashes on the mind

1. VI. 1.2 p. 7. L. 6.
2. IV. 1.3 p. 196. L. 7.
3. IV. 3.110.
4. Op. cit.
5. III. 2.84 p. 113. L. 23.
6. I. 2.64 p. 244. L. 9.
7. Ibid. p. 242. L. 11.
8. I. 1.1 p. 6. L. 12.

when the sound is uttered (*dhvaniḥ sphoṭaś ca śabdānāṁ dhvanis tu khalu lakṣyate - alpo mahāṁś ca keṣāṁcid ubhayaṁ tat svabhāvataḥ*)[1]. Explaining the relation of a word to sense as eternal (*nitho hy arthavatām arthair abhisambandhaḥ*)[2], he seems to have come into close touch with the Mīmāṁsakas, who are noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* though he does not mention the name of Jaimini. He is also supposed to have reproduced the Sāṅkhya doctrine, while enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist (*ṣaḍbhiḥ prakāraiḥ satāṁ bhāvānām anupalabdhir bhavati*)[3]. These are: extreme distance, extreme proximity, intervention of other things, obscurtiy due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness.

The Vedantic philosophy is not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but one finds words like *Brahman*, *Akṣara* and *Brahmavādin*[4]. An important matter from the philosophical standpoint is the conception of the non-duality of soul, and he mentions the individual soul (*ātman*) and the supreme soul (*paramātman*)[5], as well as the physical and internal soul (*śarīrātman* and *antarātman*). The internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels pain or pleasure (*śarīrātmā tat karma karoti yena antarātmā sukhaduḥkhe 'nubhavati*)[6]. It appears that the two souls not only exist but are active in actions, which is against the Vedantic system of philosophy. In his commentary Kaiyaṭa thoroughly explains the difference of souls and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul[7]. Another point worth noting is Patañjali's reference to the *Pramāṇas* (instruments of correct knowledge), which, according to the *Nyāysūtra*,[8] are Perception, Inference, Analogy and Śabda.

1. I. 1.70 p. 181. LL. 24-25.
2. I. 1.1 p. 7. L. 10.
3. IV. 1.3 p. 197. L. 9.
4. VI. 3.86 p. 171. L. 18.
5. III. 2.83 p. 110. L. 2.
6. III. 1.87 p. 68. L. 22.
7. *Vastuta eva ātmabhedo na tu ekasyaiva karmatvaṁ kartṛtvaṁ ca.*
8. I. 1.3 - Basu. S. B. Hindus p. 2.

Patañjali has referred to them with the single exception of Analogy (*upamiti*) in different passages. It is difficult to say if he was aware of Gautama. As pointed out in the comment on this, the Cārvākas admit only one means viz. Perception (*pratyakṣa*), the Vaiśesikas and Bauddhas admit two, that is Perception and Inference (*ānumāna*), the Sāṅkhya admit three - Perception, Inference and Verbal testimony (*āgama* and *śabda*) while the Naiyāyikas admit four. The Bhāṣyakāra has not mentioned the name of Gautama, the Naiyāyika, but the words *Gautamīya*[1] and *Vākovākya*[2] in the *Mahābhāṣya*, suggest his knowledge of this system of philosophy. In this connection certain other facts may also be taken into consideration, such as, the illustration (*pratyakṣas tena agnidhūmayor abhisambandhaḥ*)[3] - the clear relation of smoke with the fire. The inference is impossible without previous perception, as mentioned in the *Nyāyasūtra* (*atha tatpūrvakaṁ trividham anumānam*)[4], but in some cases inference is more reliable than perception (*pratyakṣād apy anumānabalīyastvaṁ tu evam*)[5]. One also finds a reference to *kriyā* or action which is not visible but comprehended only by inference (*kriyā nāmeyam atyantāparidṛstā*)[6]. The semi-organs are capable of providing cognition only when they have direct association with the mind (*manasā saṁyuktāni indriyāṇi upalabdhau kāraṇāni bhavanti*)[7]. The sense organs, incapable of giving cognition (perception) by themselves,could only do so through the connection with the mind,to which the Naiyāyikas added another factor-the soul with which the mind gets invariably connected. Thus, according to them, a sense coming in contact with its object produces knowledge in soul only if the sense is conjointed with the mind. This conjunction is a necessary element in the definition of perception.

1. VI. 2.39 p. 125. L. 12.
2. I. 1.1 p. 9. L. 22.
3. III. 2.124 p. 125. L. 15.
4. I. 1.5.
5. III. 2.124 p. 125. L. 15.
6. I. 3.1 p. 254. L. 15.
7. III. 2.115 p. 120. LL. 22-23.

Another point, worth mentioning, is the conception of the syllogism (*avayavin*). According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, (*sādhyatvād avayavisaṃdehaḥ*)[1] there is, some say, doubt about the whole, which is yet to be established, and parts alone are realities. A tree, for instance, is yellow in some parts and green in others. If it were one whole the contradictory qualities or yellowness and greenness could not have belonged to it simultaneously. Patañjali shares this view (*avayavātmakatvāt samudāyasya - avayavātmakaḥ samudāyaḥ - abhyantaro hi samudāye 'vayavaḥ - tad yathā vṛkṣaḥ pracalan saha avayavaiḥ pracalati*)[2].

The question of desire, directly known by action, is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra (*icchāyā hi pravṛttita upalabdhiḥ icchāyā hi pravṛttita upalabdhir bhavati*)[3]. What one desires to do is clearly understood by his action. According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, 'desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain, and intelligence are the marks of the soul' (*icchā-dveṣa-prayatna-sukha-duḥkha-jñānāni ātmano liṅgam iti*)[4]. Desire is one of the signs by which soul is usually inferred to exist. It is not directly comprehended by perception but only by inference. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, one finds references to malobservation-things that actually do not exist, but appear to do so, as for instance, *mṛgatṛṣṇā*[5]-mirage, or the beautiful city of the gandharvas (*gandharvanagaram yathā*)[6]. The reverse case of non-perception of realities is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra, as for instance, the movement of the sun *ādityagativat*[7] is imperceptible, though real.

Many more passages and references could be traced to show that Patañjali was familiar with philosophical conceptions. It may be going too far to consider these in detail, but there are certain technical terms which may be mentioned, as for example,

1. II 1.33.
2. VI. 1.1 p. 3. LL. 14-16.
3. III. 1.7 p. 14. LL. 19-20.
4. I. 1.10.
5. IV. 1.3. 196. L. 21.
6. *Ibid.* L. 24.
7. II. 2.5 p. 409. L. 24.

anugama,[1] *samānādhikaraṇa*[2] (having a common substratum)- *anantyatva*[3] (the state of infinity or eternity), *anaikāntika*[4] the fallacy of undistributed middle, and a good many interesting philosophical maxims which are included in the comprehensive work - *Paribhāṣendusekhara* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The maxim of the rope which binds at both ends - *ubhayataḥ pāśā rajjuḥ*[5] is most interesting. It leads one to an embarrassing position - a dilemma. As illustrated in the Jaimini section of *Sarvadarśanasāṁgraha*[6] - "if you object that non-existence (or absence) cannot be a cause, we reply by asking you whether non-existence can be an effect or not ? If it cannot, then we should have to allow that cloth is eternal, as its 'emergent non-existence' or destruction would be impossible. If it can be an effect, then why should it not be a cause also ?" So this rope binds you at both ends. Another interesting maxim is *ekadeśavkṛtasyānanyatvāt siddham*[7] - a thing that is changed in one part does not thereby become something else. Here Patañjali illustrates the cutting of a dog's ear or tail which does not turn it into a horse or donkey but still a dog.

We have not taken into consideration the reference to substance (*dravya*) - different from qualities such as form, smell, odour, sound and touch (*kimpunar drayavṁ ke punar guṇāḥśabda-sparśa-rūpa-rasa gandhā guṇās tato 'nyad dravyam*)[8] ; and the eternal entities, including sky, heaven, space and time (*nityā dyauḥ nityā pṛthvī nityam ākāśam itī*)[9]. The consideration of the philosophical data makes it clear that the Bhāṣyakāra was familiar with the Naiyāyika philosophy. The philosophical literature in that period

1: V. 1. 59 p. 355. L. 23.
2. II. 1.1 p. 368. L. 5 etc.
3. I. 1.3 p. 44.
4. I. 2.30 p. 207. L. 10.
5. VI. 1.68 p. 46. L.19.
6. Cowell - Trans. p. 198.
7. I. 1.56 p. 136. L. 10.
8. V. 1.119 p. 366. L. 14.
9. VIII. 1.4 p. 364. L.25.

probably influenced him in his exposition of the grammatical sūtras, and he sought elucidation of the philosophy of grammar.

Medicinal and Surgical data in the Mahābhāṣya :

Patañjali has referred to the three humours of the body - *vāta* (wind or air), *pitta* - the bilious humour secreted between the stomach and the bowels, and *śleṣma*, caused by phlegm or mucus[1]. He also mentions certain diseases like itch *(pāman)*[2], scrofula (*gaḍu*)[3], an excrescence on the head (*gaḍuśiras*)[4], and a kind of leprosy (*dadru*).[5] He notices ladies' disease associated with childbirth; sometimes causing the death of the lady during the birth of the first child (*tathā sūtāyām asoṣyamāṇāyām ca bhavati prathamagarbhena hateti*).[6] The child was also sometimes prolapsed (from the womb) - *(garbho nirluṭhitaḥ)*[7]. Sometimes specific remedies are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as for instance, rice-gruel for curing kidney trouble (*mūtrāya kalpate yavāguḥ*), and barley water for excretion (*uccārāya yavānam iti*)[8]. Ghee (*ghṛta*) destroyed bilious substance (*pittaghnaṁ ghṛtam*) and honey removed phlegm (*śleṣmaghnaṁ madhu.*)[9] Reference is also made to a medicinal oil (*iṅgudatailam*)[10].

Administrative Information :

The information provided by the Bhāṣyakāra on the political events, especially the invasion of the Yavanas, has been considered earlier. Confining our consideration to the administrative data alone, we notice that, as usual, the local unit was the village, and

1. V. 1.38 p. 351. L. 11.
2. 1.1.'3 p. 80. L. 25.
3. IV. 3.39 p. 308. L. 21.
4. II. 3.35 p. 437. L. 17.
5. V. 2.97 p. 396. L. 8.
6. I. 1.21 p. 77. L. 22.
7. I. 3.1 p. 254. L. 16.
8. II. 3.13 p. 449. L. 21.
9. VI. 1.12 p. 17. L. 19.
10. V. 2.29. p. 376. L. 17.

its headman was known as *Grāmaṇī*[1]. A collection of five villages was called *Pañcagrāma*[2]. A few officers, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are commander-in-chief *(senanī)*[3] and King's physician *(rājavaidya)*[4]; and minor attendants, such as, the canopy-holders *(chhatradhāra)*[5], the gate-keeper (*dvārapāla*) and the executioner (*śīrasghātin*)[6]. Tolls or taxes *(śulka)*[7] and collective fines are also referred to[8]. This administrative information, supplied by the *Mahābhāṣya*, is too meagre to suggest if it is derived from the Smṛti literature, or Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Patañjali has referred to the three objects of life - *Dharma, Artha*, politics and practical life in general, and *Kāma*, viz. love or affection (*dharmārthau arthadharmau, kāmārthau arthakāmau*)[9].

Miscellaneous data :—

This includes information on topics like arms and armaments, trees, birds and animals. The different kinds of arms-spear (*śakti*), plough (*lāṅgala*), goad (*aṅkuśa*), staff *(yaṣṭi)*, club (*tomara*), bow *(dhanus)* and another type of club (*mūsala*)[10] were used; and a systematic planning of defence was made with a moat dug round the city (*utkhāparikhā*)[11]. The main strength of the army was called *akṣauhiṇī* - a very popular term[12]. Amongst the fruits, plants and trees, mentioned are :—berry (*badara*)[13], pomegranate (*dāḍima*)[14],

1. V. 2.19. p. 340. L. 8.
2. II. 1.51 p. 393. L.8.
3. V. 1.9 p. 340. L. 8.
4. VI. 1.91 p. 72. L. 16.
5. III. 2.9 p. 94. L. 8.
6. III. 2.84 p. 111. L. 23.
7. V. 1. 47 p. 351. L. 21.
8. VI. 1.5 p. 10. L. 28.
9. II. 2.35 p. 437. L. 6.
10. III. 2.9 p. 99.
11. III. 2.101 p. 112. L. 20.
12. VI. 1.89 p. 69. L. 8.
13. I. 1.58 p. 153. L. 13.
14. I. 1.1 p. 38. L. 5.

jasmine (*mallikā*)[1], khadira, *palāśa*, *pilu*[2] - a kind of palm, the jujube treee (*kuvalī*)[3], *araḍu*[4], and the cotton plant (*picavya*)[5], bottle-gourd (*alābu*) and flax (*umā*)[6]. The animals, reptiles, and birds, which are noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*, include, *godhā*[7] - an iguana, *sarpa*[8] - ordinary snake, and *mahā-sarpa*[9], an elephant cub - *ibhyāyuvati*, beautiful cow (*govṛndāraka*) and horse (*aśva-vṛndāraka*)[10], donkey (*khara*)[11], camel (*uṣṭra*)[12], sheep (*eḷaka*)[13], deer (*mṛga*)[14] peacock (*mayūra*)[15], pigeon (*kapota*)[16], a young sparrow (*caṭakā*)[17] large fish (*timiṅgila*)[18], goose (*haṁsa*)[19] and a kind of eagle (*kurara*). The data provided by the *Mahābhāṣya*, on these topics are also meagre. The information is too general, but one may presume that there might have been certain treatises on Botanical and Zoological subjects.

Patañjali's Style :

In order to estimate the worth of a literary work, it is necessary to consider the material furnished by it, and the way in which it is presented. In short, it is not only what is said, but how it is said which is equally important. On this point Patañjali

1. IV. 3.166 p. 328. L. 2.
2. IV. 1.27 p. 213.
3. IV. 3.180 p. 323. L. 5.
4. IV. 1.56 p. 326. L. 11.
5. V. 1.2 p. 337. L. 4.
6. V. 2.29 p. 376. L. 9.
7. I. 1.23 p. 82. L. 6.
8. II. 1.69 p. 404. L. 19.
9. V. 3 55 p. 413. L. 14.
10. II. 1.69 p. 403. L. 11.
11. V. 2.107 p. 397. L. 9.
12. I. 1.50 p. 120. L. 6.
13. II. 3.67 p. 268. L. 20.
14. II. 4.12 p. 475. L. 18.
15. II. 3.67 p. 468. L. 16.
16. IV. 2.36 p. 278. L. 21.
17. IV. 1.128 p. 258. L. 20.
81. VI. 3.70 p. 168. L. 8.
19. I. 2.67 p. 248. L. 8.

seems to have placed himself in the position of a young keen student anxious to master the riddles of grammar through a scientific and logical technique. A question is put and the student raises the issue in an intelligent manner with the teacher - who finally solves the problem. The pros and cons are equally weighed. It, no doubt, involves a heavy strain on the reader, especially those who are unfamiliar with the method followed, but certainly it represents a style of its own. Expressions and references relating to matters of every day life enhance the value of the work which also depicts the cultural condition in that period. With a view to giving a a concrete idea of Patañjali's style, one or two passages may be quoted here. The first is the famous Mauryan passage - being a comment on the Sūtra *jīvikārthe cāpaṇye.* Pāṇini mentions that the suffix *ka* is added to a name denoting an image of a deity, but that suffix is dropped, if the image secures for the person a livelihood (*jīvikā*), provided it is not vendible (*apaṇya*). Now the difficulty is raised with regard to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. Here the suffix *ka* is dropped despite the fact that the Mauryas in their greed for money had disposed of such images. So the form should be *Śivaka, Skandaka* and *Viśākhaka.* Finally he says that taking it for granted that the rule of dropping *ka* does not apply to those images of the Mauryas, still as regards images used for purpose of worship it does apply (*bhavet tāsu na syāt–yās tu etāḥ sampratipujārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*)[1]. In the second passage, from the rule laying down the eatable things, one can understand those things which are not to be eaten. When it is said that (only) five five-toed animals may be eaten, it is to be understood that all the rest are not to be eaten or by forbidding the eating of something, those that may be eaten can be known. Thus, when it is said that the village cock or pig should not be eaten, it is to be understood that the wild cock or pig may be eaten. (*abhakṣyo-grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkara ity ukte gamyata etad āraṇyo bhakṣya iti*).[2]

1. V. 3.99 p. 4 9. L. 4.
2. I. 1.1 p. 5. LL. 17-18.

Patañjali seems to be conscious of his reader's difficulty and limitations; and, therefore, he has tried to interest him with similies and metaphorical expressions and maxims which have been considered earlier. Such a device was considered likely to lighten the strain, but the diffieulty to follow Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* was experienced even by the commentators - Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Nevertheless, one can hardly deny that the Bhāṣyakāra tried to hit two birds with a stone. He succeeded in presenting grammar on a scientific basis for the Śiṣṭas and, for the succeeding generations, he was equally successful in presenting a picture of India of his time which was not free from political upheavals.

We have tried to assess in this chapter the literary talents of the Bhāṣyakāra and the probable literature on diffierent subjects with which he was familiar. The reference to the Kāvya of Vāraruci, Jābāli, and his own experiments in poetic metres testify to the development of Kāvya literature in that period. Parallelism between passages from the *Mahābhāṣya*, and those taken from the Vedic literature illustrate the vast bibliography with which Patañjali was conversant. As regards the Smṛti passages, probably there was a common source for the Smrtikāras and the Bhāṣyakāra. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known and Patañjali has actually quoted two such dramas. The popular literature was also utilized by the Bhāṣyakāra and we find a good many maxims, some dealing with bird fables. The data relating to Medicine, administration, Botany and Zoology are also considered in this chapter. There was, very probaly, literature on all these subjects. We have not taken into consideration either Pālī or Prākṛt source for obvious reasons - paucity of any fixed datum of time, and because the present study is confined from the literary standpoint to the *Mahābhāṣya* alone. These were apparent reasons for skipping over those sources.

CHAPTER IX

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Śuṅga period is notable for the change in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art, characterised by collossal mass on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other, assumed a democratic shape and became more popular among the masses. The ordinary people did not hesitate to donate or dedicate a piece of railing, or some other object for the service of the lord. Despite the religious aspects underlying these works of art, one finds people in their merry-making mood, happy, cheerful and gay. Another innovation is the introduction of the human form,-not noticed in the Mauryan period,-which plays a prominent part in complete alignment with natural objects, such as trees, creepers, animals etc. in happy harmony with one another. The method adopted is, no doubt, simple and the human beings are depicted in their simple outlook despite the social inter-fusion of different grades from the royalty and nobility to the aborigines. Art thus, expresses the contemporary Indian mind and outlook in different shades, and forms involving iconographic conception of Indian divinities and such demi-gods and goddesses as Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs. Another important feature distinguishing the art of this period from that of Mauryans is the use of stone on a grand scale. The *takṣan* or the carpenter, whose services were needed for carving out beautiful designs and details, is now replaced by the *śailarūpkāra* or the sculptor. Patañjali refers to the *Rājatakṣan* employed specially by the King (*takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṁ karmaṁ jahāti*[1]), who then gives up his private work. The *śilpin* too is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* earning his livelihood on pay or wages

1. II. 1. 1 p. 364. L. 12.



BHARHUT—JETAVANA SCENE (*Courtesy, Indian Museum, Calcutta*)

(*śilpino nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante vetanaṁ ca lapsyāmahe)*[1], but this term could be used for all types of artisans using technical skill. The fact seems to be that wood was not completely replaced by stone though the latter was more in use. This change can be seen in the lunette depicting an elephant procession in the *Lomaśa Ṛṣi* cave facade[2]. Another important phase of the artistic development in this period is the hewing of caves and vihāras to cater permanently for the spiritual and temporal needs of the Buddhist monks. This phase, owing to facility of natural resources, was localised to a particular region.

The famous stūpa at Bhārhut with its railings and toraṇas, and at Sāñchī with its railings, were also set up in the Śuṅga period, as is evident from the epigraphic records. Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth, too, were not slow in their artistic activities, and, their productions of this period are worth considering. The famous Bodh-Gayā railing enclosing the Bodhi tree, where the lord took his Caṁkrama, also belongs to this period. It, thus, becomes imperative to study the evolution of art and architecture in the Śuṅga period on certain principles, applicable to different centres of art. The famous Jain caves at *Udaigiri* and *Khaṇḍagiri*, can not be ignored and one would be interested in the Besnagar Garuḍa column as well which was set up during this period. The terracotta figures, notable for their mass production, have also to be considered from the point of view of style and special features. Lastly, we have to consider the earlier phase of Rock-cut architectures of western India, and town architectural planning such as we find in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī gateways. There may be chronological overlapping which need not be disapproved.

Bhārhut Stupa, Railing and Toraṇas:

The sculptures from Bhārhut, being a part of the stūpa which once existed at the site in the Madhyadeśa, and now forms part of

1. III. 1. 26 p. 36, L. 4.
2. Percy Brown. *Indian Architecture*, pl. fig. 1.

a special gallery in the Indian Museum are a class by themselves. The name of the *Navakarmika* or superintendent in charge of the monument noticed in a record[1], suggests that it was erected under the supervision of a person and the expenses were met from the contributions made by members of both the sexes. The donors ranged from ordinary persons to those of the regal class to which the two *mitra* ladies belonged. The stūpa with its railing and gates was set up at one time, and not by stages as we find at Sāñchī. This is clear from the script of the donatory records inscribed on the railings. The time facter is completly eliminated both in the manner of presentaion, as well as in the subject matter dealing with the life of the Master. There is symmetry, and no scene is incomplete. Even the Jātaka stories, depicting the life of the Tathāgata in his previous births, represent that special note of solemnity and dignity which is essential for creating a firm impression on the mind of the devotee. It makes him conscious of life which is to be taken in a serious and ethical spirit. The votaries, simple and unsophisticated, do not lack that jovial feeling which one experiences after he has found a panacea for his sufferings. This may be illusrated by the dancing scene, so beautifully depicted in a rhythmical manner, when Gautama attained enlightenment[2]. The figuers of the Yakṣas, Nāgas and Kinnaras with their female counterparts are also notable.

With all the seriousness of life, viewed in its religious and ethical background, the sociological outlook is not wanting. In fact the Śuṅga art at Bhārhut is richest in the social content - representing the life of the people - not without humour scenes. Human life plays an important part, and the sculptor has taken pains to exhibit the picture of society explicitly and in a lucid manner, as he has handled the life story of the Master. Nature, too, is in harmony with both. As these sculptures have been treated in detail, we shall confine our study only to a few new pieces. A coping stone from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum[3], depicts an interesting scene. At the

1. Luders List no. 773.
2. Cunningam - *Bhārhut*. pl. XV.
3. Kala: *Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahābād Museum*. pl. XII.



BHĀRHUT—Cūlakokā Devatā
(*Courtesy, Indian Museum, Calcutta*)

top there is a border of stepped merlons with alternate horizontal lotuses, while below there are four panels cut by an undulating creeper. The first contains only a hanging cloth, but in the second two figures are noticed engaged in conversation. They stand between two houses which have vaulted roofs, star shaped windows and mud walls. The figure on the left holds an animal in his left hand, while another is seen seated on the top of another cottage. A *cakra* is placed between two *thūpikas* on the top of cottage to the left. In the third panel one finds ornaments consisting of ear rings, bangles and elaborate armlets. The last panel contains a simple cottage (*parṇakuṭī*). An inscription on the stone is read by the curator as *Gaja Jātaka-sasa,* which is completed above the panel on the right with the additional word - *Jātaka* according to B. M. Baruā[1] who considered the text of the full label analogous to another Bhārhut Jātaka label reading *Viḍala Jātaka, Kukuṭa Jātaka.* These two creatures mentioned in different stories seem to be important characters. This can only relate to the *Gajakumbha Jātaka*[2] which describes the previous birth of the Buddha as a minister of the King of Benaras who took a tortoise and a hare giving to the slothful king an object lesson of how the indolent came to misery. The tortoise is symbolised by his laziness and the hare by his activity, though the popular version is just the reverse.

The *Sasa Jātaka* story figures prominently in another sculpture[3] on a rail pillar from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum; containing an elaborate scene in the middle. To the right is seen a spouted jar with two baskets filled with mangoes, and in the middle is a fire altar. An animal probably a hare is seen facing it. Behind him another animal whose head and half body are cut off, is seated in the left corner. A lizard and another are in between the hare and the half cut animal. The scene represents the story in the *Sasa Jātaka*[4]

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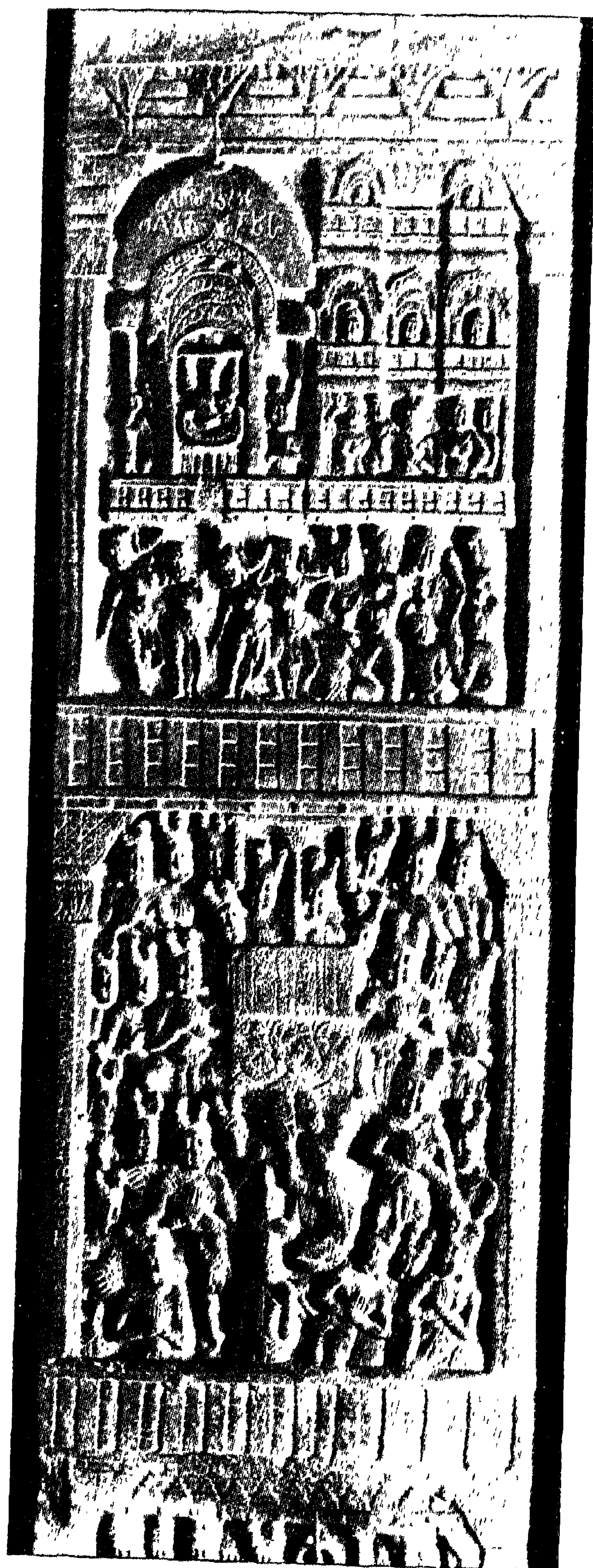
1. J. U. P. H. S. Vol. XIX. p. 48.
2. No. 345; Vol. III. p. 139.
3. No. B. 549. Kala - 6; Ref. cit. Pl. IV.
4. Malalasekera—*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* Vol. II. P. 1079.

where the hare sacrificed himself by plunging into the fire, when food was demanded from him by Sakra in disguise. The hare's nobility was related in the course of giving thanks to a land owner of Sāvatthi who had entertained the Buddha and his monks for seven days. In this scene, the hare is shown ready to jump into the fire. This Jātaka scene is also observed at Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa,[1] and in a sculpture in the British Museum.[2]

A moving elephant with two riders carrying the relics of the Buddha in an ornamental covering is seen in a fragment of a coping stone[3]. It probably suggests the scene of one of the claimants carrying his share after the division of the relics. At the top, as usual, there is a border of stepped merlons alternating with blue lotuses, and at the bottom one finds bells fastened to a hanging chain.

The Vessantara Jātaka scene is depicted on a corner pillar[4] from Bhārhut with two faces, each side being divided into three panels by horizontal bands of railing. The scene in the uppermost panel shows a royal personage riding on a richly caprisioned elephant, two small figurines probably attendants, are noticed near the tusk of the elephant. In the middle are four horses with manes, while a male figure probably stands, or is seated on a chair in case these horses are yoked. The lowermost panel, as usual, shows two stumpy figures supporting the structure with their upraised hands. On the other side in the uppermost panel a royal figure is pouring water with a *kamaṇḍalu* in the hands of a Brāhmaṇa who faces him. At the back are seen two male figures with upraised hands. In the second panel there are again four horses with beautiful manes now yoked in a chariot while three figures, probably Brahmins because of their matted hair, stand near the feet of the horses with folded hands. At the bottom, the two stumpy figures support the heavy structure with upraised hands. The story is too long to be told here,

1. Memo. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. p. XVIII.
2. Fergusson : *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. LXXXIII. Fig. 2.
3. No. 500. - Op. cit. pl. VII.
4. Op. cit. Pl. VI (A) and B.



BHĀRHUT-*Top*—Heavenly dancing scene
Below—Ajatśatru's visit to the Buddha
(*Courtesy, Indian Museum, Calcutta*)

but its moral is 'sacrifice for others' and the efficacy of *dāna* is stressed even at the cost of one's personal interest. This Jātaka story is represented in another panel of Bhārhut railing[1], as well as at Sāñchī[2].

Other fragments of coping stones from Bhārhut depict in one case two deer grazing and a Brahmin standing inside the foliage of a Mandāra tree. The bottom depicts hanging bells, while at the top there is the usual border of stepped merlons. In another coping stone a peacock is shown with out-spread tail though the body is cut off and only a part is visible under a panel made by an undulating creeper[3]. The sculpture is too mutilated to give any faithful representation, though the inscription on the top is read as *Haṁsa Jātaka.*

Besides these Jātaka scenes there are others with a humourous and jovial atmosphere. The acrobatic scene on the pillar post[4] is interesting in this respect. The stone has circular panels at the top and the bottom. In the middle there is a group of hanging men. They are nine in number and hold firmly the feet of the one just above with both the hands. The dress is, as usual, a loin cloth tied by a scarf, embroidered turban, necklace and bracelets and a long scarf thrown round the shoulder with ends falling on either side. To the right and left stand a male and female with folded hands on lotuses. The inscription on the sculpture records it as the gift of the nun Puṣyadattā of Nāgarika. The association of an acrobatic scene with a Buddhist monument is very interesting. According to Baruā[5], it stands on a par with the wrestling and dancing scenes and these fit well into the artistic scheme of the Bhārhut railing as seeming to represent a *melā* held in connection with the celebration of the *stūpā-festival. (thūpamaha)*. Patañjali[6] also refers to festival gatherings

1. Baruā—Op. cit. pt. III. scene 138.
2. Marshall & Foucher—Sānchī. - pts. 23. 25. 27 etc.
3. Op. cit. B. 19 pl. XIV.
4. Ibid. No. B. 542.
5. Op. cit. p. 51.
6. I. 1 50 p. 120. L. 3.

(*samāja*) and it was not uncommon to have entertainments and display of acrobatic feats.

Another piece of sculpture on a fragment of a coping stone from Bhārhut depicts an Asvattha tree inside a panel made by undulating creeper, and two deer grazing and a man (supposed by the curator to be a Brahmin) standing inside the foliage of a *Mandūra* tree. The bottom border, as usual, shows hanging bells. According to Baruā,[1] the figure inside is simply of a man in standing pose inside the foliage of a Banyan tree and not of a Brahmin, while the scene depicts either two deer, one behind the other, or one emerging first from the foot of the tree on the right and then appearing beneath it on the left. As regards the identification of the scene, it lies between two birth stories viz. *Kandina-Jataka* (No. 13) and *Kurunga Jātaka* (No. 21).

These are some of the sculptures, mostly on the fragments of coping stones, now in the Allahabad Museum ; and they have been noticed since they are new acquisitions. A detailed study of the Bhārhut sculptures, representing the earliest phase of Indian art has been made by many scholars. It would not be proper to pronounce any opinion on the art as a whole unless we take into consideration the Yakṣa and Yakṣīs which figure so prominently both at Bhārhut as well as at sāñchī.

Sāñchī:—

According to Sir John Marshall[2], the original structure of burnt bricks of the Great stūpa had suffered great damage before the outer casing was added to it, and it is plausibly conjectured that it was done by the order of Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga, The stūpa was of about the same size as the stūpa of Aśoka at Sārnāth about 60′ in diameter at the base with a raised terrace surrounding its base and a crowning pinnacle (*harmikā*), surmounted by one or more umbrellas (*chattrāvalī*) within a small square railing. The balustrades above the base and the raised terrace were presumably of

1. Op. cit. p. 49.
2. Sānchī—Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 24.

wood since all vestiges of them have disappeared. A little further, he suggested[1], that it was reconstructed under one of the Śuṅga kings about the middle of the second century B. C. The additions, made by way of reconstruction, comprised of the existing envelope of stone in which the whole body of the origional stūpa was encased; the lofty stone terrace and two flights of stairs at its base; the stone flagging of the processional path; the stone balustrades in place of the older-fashioned ones of wood-one around ground level procession, a second around the terrace berm, and a third on the top of dome; and lastly, the *harmika* and umbrellas (*chattrāvalī*) which crowned the whole. It has been pointed out by him that it could not have been done during the reign of the anti-Buddhist Puṣyamitra nor, for palaeographic reasons, could it be brought down much later than the middle of the second century B. C.

The contribution of the Śuṅga Period at Sāñchī is confined to the minor carvings on the berm and stairway balustrades of stūpas 1 and 3 which, according to Sir John Marshall were executed shortly after the middle of the second century B. C., but they throw little light on the history of local art in stone. The sculptures of stūpa No. 2, are the earliest important examples of indigenous relief work in stone. The problem of the subject matter did not present much difficulty as the artists were familiar with the motifs belonging to the life of the Master along with the Buddhist emblems - the famous *triratna* - Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha. The massive railing of 88 pillars round the stūpa, which was completed in a couple of years, provided scope for the sculptors to display their talents. Plants, flowers and trees, with their salient features were also associated with human figures, and so too were the quadrupeds - the elephant, lion, horse and bull. A galaxy of fabulous creatures, fish tailed *makaras*, winged human heads, stags with elephant heads and fish tailor cobra headed *nāgās* with human bodies, and such other creatures which the artists could easily conceive out, found a place on the railings. The space being limited, scope, too, was restricted with

1. Ibid. p. 29.

the result that we do not find Jātaka stories. Owing to paucity o space, allusive emblems or figures were used to denote the importan events, as for example, the lotus suggested Nativity, deer - *mṛgadāva* and wheel - the first sermon at Sārnāth.

The carvings display disparity in the quality of workmanshi and a general lackness of uniformity, which is rather natural, since the posts, cross bars, and coping stones were donated by diffrent persons, and so the sculptures seems to have been carved by diffrent artists, not necessarily covering a long time. The design and taste differed depending on the resources of the donor, and the talents of the carver[1]. This does not make the sculptures free from monotony which is apparent, as for example, principal designs are repeated, particularly, the tree of Life design, or the Māyā-Lakṣmī[2] figures, though slight difference is not imperceptible. The Wheel of law surmounting a pillar and the latter, too, supported by the tree of life, is repeated a number of times with variations on the balustrade[3]. It is needless to go into the differences which have been pointed out by Sir John Marshall. Despite the unequal merits, the reliefs, with a few exceptions, form a thoroughly homogenous group marked by a few characteristic features of a technical nature.

The technical observation, from a point of view of stone cutting, reveals that the reliefs are strictly in one plane with little attempt to reach depth in stone cutting - whether for human, floral or animal figures, or decorative devices. Here the law of frontality, applied in the case of human beings, and the memory picture are fully operative with the result that the figures are carved front faced and the feet are usually turned sideways, though occasionally in the same direction[4]. In some cases weight is thrown on both the legs with the result that, if bisected, the

1. Cf. Pl. 78. 23a, b, c.
2. Cf. Pls. 74. 74, 75, 82, 83 etc.
3. Pillar 3a, 5a, 44b, 46b - Ref. Marshall.
4. Pl. 74, Ib, Ic; 76, 126 & 15a - ibid.

two halves would correspond exactly[1]. Generally the arms and legs are in varying postures, if one arm is raised then the other hangs down, or held horizontally across the waist. The figures stand out in well-defined relief. Though there is a tendency to depart from the rigidity and stiffness, so common in the early art of Bhārhut, the artist has not been less successful. There are, however, certain exceptions pointing to a more developed style, as for example, in the case of an elephant and riders trampling on a prostrate foe at the base of a Pillar[2]. The riders are sitting with ease, but the elephant is carved out with a degree of freedom and energy. The realistic attitude of the beasts, and the vigorous, yet delicate, modelling of their heads, plead for a more matured nature of art in these reliefs which are perfectly Indian. It is possible, as Sir Marshall has pointed out[3], that the sculptor must have imitated his elephant group from some well-known prototype of that subject with which he was familiar and which was much more advanced in style and technique. It may not have been an exact copy of the model before him or which he must have seen and clearly remembered. Sir John has explained that in the second and first centuries B. C., the dissemination in India of Asiatic Greek art in the form of coins, gems, terracottas, small carvings and textiles acted as a valuable stimulus to indigenous art, not only providing it with new motifs but leading in many cases to the adoption of more developed technique. He has traced the strength of the western Asiatic influence in such motifs as Centaurs[4], human headed lions[5], and fish tailed stags[6] and mermaids[7], and perhaps also in the Yakṣī grasping a bough. In this connection, it is necessary to compare

1. Ibid. 12b, 15a, 49a.
2. Pl. 74.
3. Op. cit. p. 102.
4. Ibid. Pl. 75 Pillar 7b.
5. Ibid. 8a.
6. Ibid. 7a.
7. Pl. 87 Pillar 75a.

the art at Sāñchī with that at Bhārhut with a view to tracing certain common features and differences and the possible foreign influence.

According to Sir John Marshall, the balustrade and gateway of the stūpa at Bhārhut, like that of the second stūpa at Sāñchī were erected during the period of the Śuṅgas, but various features of the carvings, as well as palæography of the inscriptions indicate that the gateway and certain parts of the balustrades were posterior to the Sāñchī balustrade, though probably not by more than two or three decades. This fact has to be viewed with caution and we defer its consideration till we have noticed the common features, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall, both in style and technique.

Characteristically Indian, both the schools were struggling from the trammels of archaism into freedom and exhibit some what similar traits of awkwardness and stiffness due to the constraint of the 'memory image', lack of perspective and the stiff effective law of 'frontality'. Sir John concludes[1] that "the reliefs of Bhārhut, like those of Sāñchī, are distinguished by the presumption of a small pecentage of carvings of unusually free and advanced style, which, there are good reasons for ascribing to north-western influence. Taken as whole, the reliefs of Bhārhut mark a definite advance on those of stūpa 2 at Sāñchī." In regard to subjects they are altogether more ambitious, the sculptors are no longer content with simple decorations or figure groups, as one notices at Sāñchī, but set themselves to portray a variety of scenes representing episodes from the life of the Tathāgata or his previous births. Even in constricted spaces, the artists have squeezed in many figures crowding the gateway's reliefs, as they are at Sāñchī.

As regards the differences, the sculptures of Sāñchī belong to one school, those of Bhārhut to another, each having its own traditions and methods. At Sāñchī the art is more natural and

1. Op. cit. p. 103.

unconstrained, the poses of the figures as full and easy as the skill of the sculptor could make them, their contours smooth and rounded, and their minor features unaccentuated. On the contrary, at Bhārhut the sculptor seems striving after conscious definition and truth rather than unaffected simplicity, with no laxity in style which is rather tense and artificial. The contours are clear cut and precise, 'anatomical details consciously and incisively defined and every ornament put with meticulous accuracy'. Sir John noticed a certain restrained mannerism, a pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness about these sculptures which are not found on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2, or on the later gateways at Sāñchī, and, while the Indian art of the Malwa school lacks in religious tone, that of Bhārhut is more impressive and ecclesiastic. Bhārhut was more closely connected with the early school of Mathurā which may have been the principal centre from which it diffused, while its eclipse may have been due to the Śaka conquest of that city which took place in the first century B. C.

Now Sir John's contentions have raised many interesting points. Firstly, he thinks that the Bhārhut art was posterior to that represented on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2 at Sāñchī. Secondly, it shows a more ambitious and advanced nature of sculptures fitted for the pupose of depicting the true ecclesiastical history of Buddhism. Thirdly, it was more aligned to the early art of Mathurā which might have been the source of the dissemination of art at Vidiśā, and this school seems to have been eclipsed in consequence of the invasion of the Śakas. As regards the posterior and anterior character of Bhārhut and Sāñchī sculptures on grounds of style, we cannot be oblivious of one particular fact - namely, the comparison of the Bhārhut sculptures, as a whole, with only those on the balustrades at Sāñchī. Space and horizon have to be taken into consideration, and, if the Sāñchī sculptor lacks anatomical details consciously and incisively defined, surely it is not he who is to be blamed, but the available space confining his activity to the balustrades. It is equally true that we notice

certain Kharoṣṭhī characters engraved as mason marks which indicate that they had something to do with those sculptures. This need not be a ground for presuming that the Bhārhut sculpures are posterior even by two or three decades to those at Sāñchi, where one does not find Kharoṣṭhī signs. The Kharoṣṭhī signature in the Māskī inscription recording the Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka is equally inexplicable, though it was presumed by Smith[1] that the scribes of the day were skilled in both the scripts. Under these circumstances it would not be reasonable to presume the posterior character of the Bhārhut sculptures because of some Kharoṣṭhī mason marks.

It has also been suggested that these signs imply the utilization of foreign artists who were called to help the local talents. Political relations, such as existed between the Indo-Greeks and the Śuṅga rulers of Vidiśā close to Sāñchī, would certainly have made it possible in the case of the Malwa school, but one does not trace Kharoṣṭhī signs there. Coomaraswamy suggested[2] that in some respects the art at Sāñchī seemed to start from a point less advanced than that of the preceding century. Thus, some reliefs on the same railing (fig. 52) exhibit a much greater knowledge of the figure representing pose and movement with animation and grace, and this stylistic advancement can not imply foreign influence nor does the phrase 'direct observation of nature' and 'free from the trammels of the memory image' meet the case.

One may presume that, though the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñchī were independent of each other. They certainly had to rely on some guiding principles obtained by a synthesis based on mental visualization and abstraction. The improvement in style and pose depended on the artist's skill with the result that on the same railing some reliefs depicting the treatment of human figures are more primitive, while others are more advanced[3]. As regards

1. *History of Fine Art in India* p. 30.
2. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 35.
3. Coomaraswamy - Op. cit. Pl. 51, 52.

the age of the two schools, they were more or less contemporary but Bhārhut seems older. It is rather strange that Bhārhut died down with the Śuṅgas while Sāñchī continued to flourish in the time of the Āndhras and the Kuṣāṇas as well. As regards their relations with the Mathurā art, Bhārhut was certainly connected with it, but whether the former was an offshoot of the latter or just the reverse is still undecided, and one may prefer to keep an open mind rather than subscribe to the views of Sir John Marshall presuming Mathurā to be the Principal centre. Professor Vogel referred to the mixed character of the Mathurā School in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Barāhat (Bhārhut) and Sāñchī, and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra[1]. These views might be applicable to the later phase of the Mathurā art. During the Śuṅga Period, there is no question of any influence from the North-West.

Buddh Gayā:

The railing at Buddh Gayā, presumed to be associated with Aśoka, in fact later than Bhārhut and earlier than Sāñchī, dates from roughly about the first century B. C. About 30 pieces were found evidently belonging to distinct structures, some pieces of a granite and others of sand stone but all are similar in style. According to Cunningham[2], there is considerable variety in the subjects depicted in these small medallions and amongst them are to be found illustrations of the famous *Kalpadruma* or wishing tree, the *Indra-sāla-guhā* and the Jetavana vihāra scenes. It is needless to go into details regarding the description of these scenes which are not new or capable of any fresh interpretation. Originality and abstraction,as we find at Bhārhut, are wanting, but the carvings have special interest embodying, according to Sir John Marshall[3], two distinct traditions - that of the Bhārhut-Mathurā school which is specially

1. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1906-7, p. 145, Cf. Foucher - *L 'art Graeco-Buddhique. Tome* I. pp. 225 and 615.

2. *Bodh-Gayā* p. 12.

3. Op. cit. p· 106.

noticeable in the lotus medallions centred with human heads or busts. They, however, lack the same breadth of style and firmness, and precise modelling. The treatment of features is insignificant and workmanship is comparatively poor. The influence of the Malwa school is noticeable in easy postures and rounded contours of some of the figures, and the simple but orderly composition. By way of illustration, comparison may be drawn between the Jetavana scene here[1] and at Bhārhut[2], and though the Buddh Gayā scene is more natural and there is no attempt to distort figures by putting them in the available space in any corner and at any angle, as we notice at Bhārhut, the former lacks vigour and freshness. Anāthapiṇḍika is no longer noticeable in that scene pouring water as a plědge of the completion of the gift, nor are the Gandha and Kosamba *Kuṭīs* in their natural surroundings with a group of persons. This scene at Buddh Gayā is shown in a most unostentatious manner lacking vigour, but not natural simplicity devoid of angular deformities.

Most of the other subjects are treated in low relief, those on the copings being purely fanciful. The others on the panels and medallions include weird centaurs, winged beasts, domestic animals, sacred trees and sundry scenes of human life exhibiting considerable skill in drawing and neat execution. According to Vincent Smith[3], both the conceptions and executions are purely Indian, but Sir John Marshall[4] thinks that a marked feature of the later, as well as the earlier sculptures at Buddh Gayā, is the presence among them of various motifs of Hellenistic or Western Asiatic origin, such as, centaurs, winged and fish-tailed monsters, tritons, schematic animal freezes and most significant of all - the Sun god in his characteristic four horse chariot. These show how freely in that period Indian sculptors were borrowing from the hybrid cosmopolitan art of

1. Cunningham-*Bodh Gayā* Pl. VIII. no. 8.
2. Ibid - *Bhārhut* Pl. XXVIII. No. 3.
3. Op. cit. p. 32.
4. Op. cit. p. 106.

western India, and one of them, at least the chariot of the Sun-god, gives a clear indication of the debt they may have owed to that art in the matter of technique.

Now here, too, one may not agree with Sir John Marshall's views as regards the influence of Western Asiatic art at Buddh Gayā in the first century B. C., which question is very problematic. The worship of Sun-Sūrya was very common, and Patañjali has referred to this deity in about a dozen passages. So the subject matter is Indian in origin, but so far as animals and other creatures are concerned, we have already referred to the data available from the *Mahābhāṣya* on flora and fauna. One may presume that the Indian sculptors, who had hardly any model before them, always depended more or less on their mental visualization, which was based on synthesis and abstracsion of details and other available information. We are, therefore, not prepared to admit foreign influence in subject matter, or design and style but we keep an open mind on this subject.

Besnagar Column :

The Besnagar column quite close to Sāñchī, which was set up by Heliodorus, son of Dion, an ambassador from the court of Antialkidas to Bhāgabhadra, the ninth Śuṅga ruler, should naturally have traces of foreign influence. A description of the shaft with the capital is necessary. The pillar is much smaller than the Aśokan ones and has eight angles. It is furnished with an ornamentation consisting of half-lotus flowers, and above it is divided into sixteen panels, followed by a broad cluster of fruit, and finally the shaft continues towards the summit with a surface divided into thirty-two panels. The last stretch is smooth and the capital exhibits the well-known Indian bell-shape[1]. A few geese can still be distinguished, inclining one towards the other, on the remains of the abacus. The whole structure was originally crowned with a Garuḍa.

1. Bachofer: *Early Indian Sculptures* p. 29.

According to Mr. Percy Brown[1], the shape and fluting of the camniform capital are of Persepolitan provenance but at the same time bear a marked resemblance to the capital of the Bhārhut toraṇa with which the pillar was contemporary. In the ornamentation of the shaft, the lower part of which is octagonal and the upper sixteen sided with a band above of thirty two facets, there may have been the beginning of a method of enriching this part of the pillar which was developed with notable effect in the columns of the later style. Now barring the shape and the fluting of the camniform capital which is not free from controversy, the capital does not betray any foreign influence, despite its being dedicated by a foreigner. Sir John Marshall has not failed to pronounce that the Persepolitan columns and the winged lions may well have been a legacy from Mauryan times when Yavana artists were employed by Aśoka, but, despite their advent into India at a later date, their presence implies nothing more than that foreign objects of art of one kind or another had strayed into the workshops of Central India; and there furnished the local sculptors with a few more motifs and ideas. We have no reason to presume that the Yavana influence on Central Indian art was more direct in that period. One can hardly deny that owing to the political and cultural contacts, it was natural for the Indian sculptors to know some new motifs, but it is difficult to trace any influence more than this superficial contact. The art should have been mature enough to influence but no remains at any rate of any such monuments, nor of any stone carvings at all, have been found in the Greek city at Taxila which was the important centre of their settlements.

Mathurā:

Mathurā is notable for the most conspicuous specimens of the old Indian school of art and it is more akin to Bhārhut with remarkable parallels of toraṇas, railings, Yakṣas, *Vṛkṣas*, dwarfs and fantastic animals. Its essentially Indian chararcter is unquestionable and

1. Op. cit. p. 106.

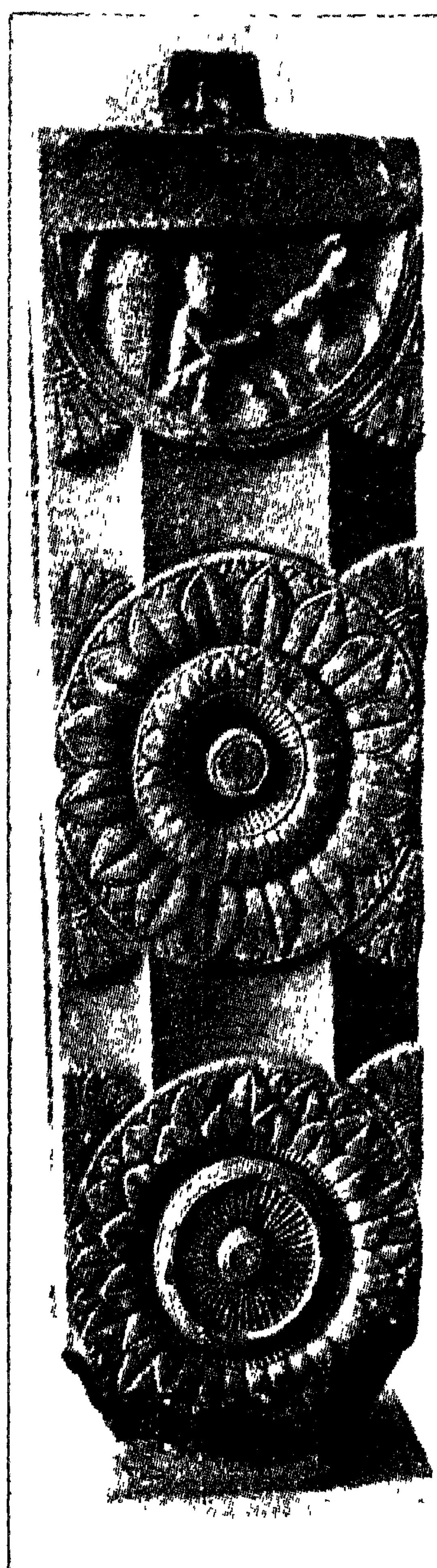
this school can trace its history at least from the Śuṅga period, though the famous Yakṣa statues are supposed to be of earlier times. The absence of an Aśoka column in this place is regrettable. During the Śuṅga period, its importance is not unaccounted for. Patañjali has mentioned it a number of times and its association with the Śūrasenas. It is true that the Mauryan relics have not been found here. The characteristic Mauryan polish is not noticed in any of the sculptures though the existence of old stūpas here is probable in the light of Hiuen-Tsang's[1] testimony. The earliest class of sculptures belong to the second century B. C. , and this includes the Parkham and Mansādevī statues. Many more Yakṣa statues belonging to this period have been found after the account written by Sir John Marshall[2] and they seem to form a class by themselves. According to R. P. Chanda[3], these Mathurā images are the crudest products of the early Indian school, though they do not lack certain aesthetic features. As these statues are not confined to Mathurā alone, it is presumed that they were products of a school of art, wholly the result of indigenous traditions and possessing distinct individuaity inspiring the sculptors to carve out colossal images worshiped as Yakṣas with their counterparts. These are also represented on railings and toraṇas at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Buddh Gayā. The cult of these Yakṣas and Yakṣis, noticeable as the earliest specimen of Indian art, was, according to Coomarasway,[4] indigenous in origin with these non-Aryan deities or genii endowed with powers of wealth and fertility which they could confer on the devotee. Before the advent of Buddhism and Jainism they had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology with a corresponding cosmology of the famous Eight Quarters of the universe. Their worship survived for long, but in sectarian literature they served the purpose of exalting the principal deity either as guardians and defenders of the faith or to be pointed as 'horrible example of depravity'.

1. Growse: *Mathurā* p. 62.
2. C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 932.
3. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1922-3, p. 165.
4. *Yakṣas* p. 36.

From the iconogr iphic point of view the Yakṣa statues with their protuberant belly (*kumbodara*), long *dhotī* tied with a belt and a special posture - raising of the right hand and putting the left on the hip - may have served as a formula for the carving out of images not excluding the Buddha image (Bodhisattva), as we find at Sārnāth and Mathurā. Coomaraswamy has suggested[1] that the early images of Yakṣas or Yakṣis, whether independent or attendant, provided the model for the cult images of other deities, such as Śiva or Buddha, when Bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms. The stylistic continuity is maintained, as can be traced in the Parkham and Patna Yakṣa images, as well as those of the Bodhisattvas at Sārnāth, and the Buddha in the Lucknow Museum, besides numerous others.

As regards other antiquities of the Śuṅga period, barring the terracottas, there are a few sculptures carved either on railing figures or cross bars[2] including the two sides of a Toraṇa Tympanum[3] showing Buddha both through symbols and in human form which are interesting. The last one possibly represents that transitional stage. Another railing pillar[4] obtained from the Yamunā near the Saptari Tīlāghāt is especially important for the scene carved on the upper half rosette which has been identified by Professor Foucher[5] as the 'Jātaka of the worst evil'. In its simple style of decoration, the usual type of the Brahmanical anchorite is easily recognizable with his heavy chignon, his beard and short garments, seated on a rolled up mat (*bṛṣī*) at the door of his round *Parṇaśālā* and engaged in conversation with four wild inhabitants. These included a dovẹ, a crow, a kneeling doe and a coiled snake. There is hardly any trace of foreign influnce either in style or in the subject matter. The style is reminiscent of the old Indian school, as pointed out by Foucher, and the subject

1. Ibid p. 29.
2. Agrawala - *Guide to the Mathura Museum* Fig. 5; 7, 8.
3. Idid. fig. 20.
4. Ibid. fig 8.
5. J. B. O. R. S. 1920 p. 470.



MATHURA— The Jātaka
of the Worst Evil Scene
(*Courtesy, Mathura Museum*)



Mathurā - The Dancing Yakṣī
(*Courtesy, Mathurā Museum*)

matter is the 'Jātaka of the worst evil'. According to this story the worst of evils is neither irresistible passion (*kāma*), hunger or covetousness (*lobha*), envenomed harted (*dveṣa*), nor prepetual fear (*bhaya*) but the body itself, the source of all troubles. Final repose comes from Nirvāṇa which is the supreme beatitude.

Another complete upright pillar[1], belonging to the second century B. C. , has the carved figure of a dancing Yakṣī wearing a conspicuous head-dress and elaborate ornaments consisting of double earrings-*padaka*, pearl necklace, a chain passing over the left shoulder and an elaborate belt besides the usual armlets, bracelets and anklets. The Yakṣī is shown surmounting an atlantes dwarf with protruding eyes. One can see in the top panel, as suggested by the curator, the figure of the Buddha with a parasol holding disputation with the teachers of rival faiths. Really the figure appears to be that of Mahāvīra, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara because the Buddha image is not found in the sculptures of that period. It is, however, clear that the Mathurā sculptors placed their services at the disposal of all the three important religions - Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. It is not surprising to find Mahāvīra depicted in this panel. The figure is so small that one does not notice *Śrī Vatsa* symbol. According to Coomaraswamy[2], the main Jain establishment represented by the Kaṅkālī Tīlā already existed in the second century B. C.

The school of Mathurā is more related to Bhārhut than to Sāñchī, and is represented by some fragmentary sculptures dating back to the middle of the second century B. C. The sculptors also carved out Brahmanical deities. A standing image of a two-armed Balarāma, with a canopy of serpent hood over the head and snake coils carved at the back and sides of the body with the distinguishing symbols - a club (*mūsala*) in right hand and a plough (*hala*) in the left, is in the Lucknow Museum.[3] The conspicuous turban, heavy

1. Agrawala : Op. cit. fig. 5.
2. Op. cit. p. 37.
3. Agrawala: *Guide to the Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum* fig. 1.

ear-rings, the triangular folds of *dhotī* hanging between the legs and the knotted girdle, as well as the frontal effect of the carving suggest that the statue should belong to the Śuṅga period. In this connection it may be pointed out that Patañjali has referred to the temples of Rāma viz., Balarāma and Keśava, with the playing of musical instuments.[1] So it is nothing unusual if this statue of Balarāma, the earliest of all available images of Brahmanical deities in early Indian art, is carved at Mathurā.

We have not referred to the railing pillars, serving as an enclosure of stone round a stūpa or caitya, enshrining an object of worship and forming an architectural pattern of its own, as observed at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Buddh Gayā. These also enclosed the stūpas, both Buddhist and Jain, at Mathurā. As regards the Buddhist stūpas, there were, according to Hiuen-Tsang, still to be seen in the kingdom of Mathurā the stūpa in which were deposited relics of the holy disciples of Śākyamuni, that is Sāriputra Moggallāna, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaṇiputra, Upali, Ānanda, Rāhula and Mañjuśrī. At the yearly festivals the religious people assembled and made their several offerings at the one which was the object of devotion. Five or six *li*, that is about a mile and quarter, to the east of the town was a monastery said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta whose nails were preserved as relics[2]. As regards the J..in stūpa, the ancient one according to Vincent Smith[3], could be dated roughly about 100 or 50 B. C. The Puṇyaśālā, called *Prācinī* in an inscription[4] of the time of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka, was an ancient gallery of Brahmaincal deities where the Lord from Wokhan had created an endowment. It is, thus, clear that there were ancient monuments of the three principal religions, at Mathurā, and a few antiquities, which are now traceable, may have been the result of certain plans of excavations carried out there in thel ast century. The contributions of the Śuṅga period in the Mathurā school of artwere not

1. II. 2.34 p. 436. L. 5.
2. Growse : *Mathurā* p. 62.
3. *The Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* p. 22.
4. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 55.



Statue of Balarāma
(*Courtesy, Lucknow Museum*)

confined to stone statues of Yakṣas and their counterparts and railing pillars, but included terracottas as well. Those belonging to the Śuṅga period have been recovered from many sites in the Gaṅgā valley. It is thus imperative to make a study of the Śuṅga terracottas.

Terracottas :—

The terracotta figurines constitute an important element in art and they are noticed as early as the period of the Indus valley civilisation. The subject has been considered at great length and much has been written on it[1]. Coomaraswamy has divided[2] these early Indian terracotta figurines into four groups - I. the Indo-Sumerian, II. the period from 1000 - 300 B. C., III. the Śuṅga or early Āndhra and IV. the Scytho-Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and later. The characteristic difference between the terracottas of different periods from a technical point of view is that those of the first group are modelled and there is use of moulds. The terracottas of the second group have moulded face and modelled body without any part being separately made and affixed. Those of the third group are moulded. Nudism is one of the most important characteristics of the female figurines in the earlier groups, but those of the fourth group are practically clothed. The nude goddess in the terracottas of the Śuṅga period is no longer met with, and on the technical side completely moulded plaques replace the modelled figurines. The body is never built up of separate parts nor does this occur again, though this method was followed in the making of wax moulds for the casting of bronze ones. The most characteristic type, as pointed out by Coomaraswamy[3], is a feminine divinity fully clothed in a tunic and *dhotī* but particular care is taken to show the details of the sex very clearly. The jewelled girdle remains a constant feature, and the types are more varied. The figures and head-dress retain practically the form and detail of the round-faced variety of the previous

1. J. A. S. B. Letters Vol. IV. pp. 71 f. for collected references.
2. *Archaic Indian Terracottas* - B. M. F. A. B. XXV pp. 70-96.
3. Ibid. p. 70.

group - the turbans are larger. Coomaraswamy's conclusions are based on those terracottas in the Boston Museum which, according to him[1], seem, with the exception of those in the first group, to have come from Mathurā. But that place was not the only centre for the making of the terracottas. At another place he has referred[2] to the terracottas of the Maurya and Śuṅga ages found at Basārh, Taxila, Bhītā, Nāgaii, Mathurā, Pātaliputra, Kosam and Sāṅkiśa. Owing to paucity of space we may confine our study to a few terracottas of the Śuṅga period recovered from Mathurā, Kosam and some other sites in the Gaṅgā valley.

At Mathurā, the finds of moulds of the Śuṅga period suggest[3] that considerable progress had been made in the technique of making terracotta figurines out of an original model, which was first prepared in wax or clay and from which a mould was taken by squeezing on it clay which was baked, so that copies could be made completely out of it. The simpler plan was adopted by pressing the clay into the mould and roughly finishing the back by hand. It would, thus, appear that figurines and reliefs were made from moulds completely, and not partly as in earlier times. On the technical side completely moulded plaques took the place of the modelled one; only the partial moulding of the face was done during this period. There is a variation of feminine standing or seated types, as noticed earlier, in the pose of the figure or in the fan, mirror or other object which it holds in its hands[4], They are more akin to the Bhārhut sculptures from the point of view of style, observed in faces and ornamentation. Definite relationship exists between clay and stone objects. Amongst the terracottas of the Śuṅga period from Mathurā may be mentioned the dancing female or *nartakī*, engaged in her toilet, a woman in dancing pose and a wind pipe playing Yakṣa[5]. It would appear that

1. Ibid. p. 90.
2. *History of Indian and Indonesian art* p. 214.
3. J. U. P. H. S. Vol. IX p. 12.
4. Agrawala - *Handbook of Sculptures in the Mathurā Museum*, fig. 1. 5 etc.
5. Ibid. figs. 32, 34, 35 and 40.

the subject matter is not religious, and the female figurines (*kanyās*) are conspicuous giving a charming study of women in different poses of acting, dancing with music, and playing with a parrot, their favourite sport. The religious ones include Śrī-Padmā or Gaja Lakṣmī with two elephants holding inverted jars and standing on uprising stalks of lotuses, or the goddess Vasudharā[1] with triple fish symbols shown on the right side. There are also other examples showing male and female figurines in pairs illustrating procreation (*mithuna*), or showing pot bellied dwarfs (*kukṣila yakṣas*) and dwarfish figures.[2] A round plaque, showing within a headed border of *kinnara-mithuna*, a pair engaged in a joy ride, is an excellent piece exhibiting the high quality of Śuṅga terracotta art.[3] The terracottas of this period also illustrate different types of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs - the pot bellied (*kukṣila*), ithyphallic (*kumbhamuṣka*), snouted (*tuṇḍalika*) and nude dwarfs (*nagnaka*).

Other important terracottas of the Śuṅga period have been recovered from Kosam, Bhītā and Pātaliputra. Amongst the Kosam terracottas, the most important and interesting one is the Vāsavadattā-Udayana one[4] now in the Bhārata Kalābhavana in Kāśī in three plaques which, with their feet modelling, could be definitely assigned to the Śuṅga period. These plaques were originally from Kauśāmbī and depict the story of Vāsavadattā's escape in an authoritative manner. The third one is broken, but the first two give a complete version of the entire scene. There are three riders on the back of a female elephant noticeable for the absence of tusks. Her front leg is raised. Amongst the riders in front a woman holds the goad in her hand against the head of the elephant, and by her side, closely touching her, sits a male figure holding a lute of seven strings. They are Vāsavadattā and Udayana. Vāsavadattā's dress consists of *sārī* with the usual ornaments - heavy ear-rings and a necklace. Udayana

1. Agarwala. Op. cit. fig. 14.
2. Ibid. fig. 16.
3. J. U. P. H. S. Vol. IX. p. 35 fig. 37.
4. Ibid. Vol. XVIII. p. 82.

wears a *dhotī*. At the back is another person holding the rope fastened round the body of the animal and throwing coins which are being picked up by two persons. There is border of small rosettes, and decorative flowers occupy the free space in the background. The plaque is plain. The story of Vāsavadattā was well-known in the time of Patañjali, who has referred to it in his *Mahābhāṣya*.

At Bhitā, too, in the course of excavations, terracottas of different periods were found including some of the Śuṅga period. One scene in the group, belonging to the period, has been identified by Professor Vogel[1] with the meeting of Duśyanta and Śakuntalā scene. At the top two persons look over railings with foliage to right. Below, to the right a four horse chariot with the charioteer are noticed, and to the left, there is a shrine with caitya doorway and railing round it. In front and below the shrine is a tank with lotuses and a figure drawing water. At the bottom are noticed two deer and a peacock (?) to the right. The terracottas from Basārh in Muzaffarpur district, conforming closely to the earlier Mathurā type, can, for the most part, be assigned to the period 120 B. C. to the close of the first century B.C[2].

As regards the terracottas from Pātaliputra, Gordon classified them under two groups[3]. There are somewhat large heads, one of a childlike appearance of a rather unique character, and the other having a bicorns head dress, and there are almost complete figures with clothing and decoration and poorly proportioned limbs. On an examination of these figures it would appear that with the exception of the child face, these have that round rather 'pug-nose' style of face which must be associated with terracottas of the period c. 150-50 B. C. There is little doubt that all are really in the same round faced flat nosed tradition, and these figurines may be of Mauryan date, though stylistically they appear to be of the Śuṅga period - a

1. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1911-12 pp. 35-36.
2. Gordon - *Indian Terracottas* - J. I. S. O. A. 1943 p. 157.
3. Ibid., p. 152.



ŚRI MĀ— AŚUNGA TERRACOTTA
(*Courtesy, Indian Institute, Oxford*)

decision, however, being in suspense. Mr. Ghosh[1] in a study of the early Indian terracottas figurines unearthed at Kumrāhār, Bulandibagh and Patna university areas suggested that they belonged to the Mauryan period, but those from Taxila and Basārh in the early Indian group were really of the Śuṅga age. N. G. Majumdar[2] referred to two terracotta human heads and two similar fragmentary specimens found at Buxar in Bihar whose style is typical of the Śuṅga times.

The most beautiful specimen of the terracotta art of the Śuṅga period is at present in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford, notable for its ornamentation and dress. Johnston suggested[3] with reservation that the figurine represented Māyā who was worshipped in the Gaṅgā valley as Mother Goddess especially associated with fertility - symbolised in the case of this terracotta figurine by fish and 'makara', indicating sexual love. The statuette is not a votive plaque, but was intended to be affixed to a rounded surface, as shown by the curvature of the back and two small holes for nails made with stamps of different varieties. These are some of the specimens of the Śuṅga terracotta art which we have considered with particular reference to their important characteristics-technical and stylistic.

Architecture :—

During this period there were definite improvements from the architectural point of view. The stūpa at Sāñchī was enlarged to nearly twice its size with replacement of the impermanent wooden railing by the stone one which serves as an impressive production in the range of constructional Buddhist art. The richly carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Jātakas enhance its architectural and artistic value. Such railings are noticed at Bhārhut and Buddh Gayā as well. The *toraṇa* or gateway was also erected at Bhārhut

1. Proc. All India Orient. Conf. Vol. III. p. 707.
2. Arch. Rep. Varendrao Res. Soc. 1926-27. p. 1.
3. Jour. Ind. Soc. Orient. Art. Vol. X. P. 102

during this period ; but much more important architectural contribution of this period is the rock-cut *caityas* and *vihāras* which were hewn out in the sylvan hills of the Western Ghats. The Śuṅga monarchs had hardly any hand in it, nor did their empire extend as far as that region, but one can hardly deny that the quarrymen with their hammers and chisels were bristling with activity, catering for the need of the Buddhist monks during this period.

The architectural formation in these rock-cut retreats was the monastery proper with an arrangement for the accommodation of monks in the vihāra - a square central hall entered by a doorway in front of which was a vestibule, portico or verandah. The doorway entered into square cells, carried still further into the rock, which were the abode of monks. The style of architecture employed in the rock-cut monasteries was a reproduction of the then existing structural originals of such wooden buildings. Even the details relating to the joints or fastening of constructions were copied, and the earlier rock work was supplemented by a good amount of wooden construction attached to its surface. Of the two structures the *caitya* was more important than the *vihāra*, with its apsidal end, colonnades and ribs at the top, The stūpa carved out of the rock assumed a prominent place near the end, and was plain except for the carved railing and the *harmikā* with the parasol. The Hīnayāna rock-cut temples belonging to this period are at Bhāja, Kondana, Pitalkhora, Ajantā (No. 10), Bedsā and Ajantā (No. 9) Nāsik and Kārle, probably carved out in this order, and definitely before the Christian era, though it is suggested[1] that the first four were cut out in the second century and the remainder ones in the first century B. C.

The rock-cut architecture of Orissa belonging to the second century B. C. consists of a collection of chambers which were meant for Jain monks. There are no *caitya* halls but only cellular retreats

1. *Brown* : *Indian Architecture* p. 24f

akin to those *vihāras* of the Western Ghats. The famous Hāthigumphā inscription of the time of king Khāravela suggests its excavation earlier than this period. According to Percy Brown,[1] all the excavations of the Orissan group appear to have been made in the 150 years previous to the Christian era, after which the production ceased, although on the Khandagiri hill a short revival took place as late as the mediaeval period when a few Jain cells were added. These Orissan group caves imply an independent development little in common with any other rock-cut architecture. The Rānīgumphā provides the characteristic feature of the architectural treatment in the Orissan cave temples. Percy Brown noticed[2] in the design of the pillars supporting the verandahs and the pilaster of the mural arcadings two traditions-one of indigenous origin derived from a wooden prototype and the other noticed in the pilasters on the walls with their capitals formed of addorsed animals, which represent, according to him, the debased descendants of the Persepolitan order. In spite of this classical motif, as suggested by Mr. Brown, there is much in the decorative nature of the arches to connect it with the early structural art of the country.

(ii) Town Architectural Plan :—

The city architectural plan is also noticeable in the sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī which definitely suggest some model on which the houses with special reference to the palaces were built. Coomaraswamy made a special study of this aspect of architecture on the basis of the sculptural scenes depicting dwellings, especially the *prāsādas*, and the literary evidence furnished by the Jātakas and other Pālī literature[3]. The term *Pasāda* (prāsāda) designated a mansion typically of several stories, though it often denot eda palace or other pretentious dwelling. On the Bhārhut bas-reliefs one notices two types of buildings-the domed and the round in plan, the second being barrel-roofed and somtimes three storeys high. The

1. Op. cit p. 36.
2. Ibid. p. 37.
3. Eastern Art Annual 1931. Vol. III.

Vaijayanta prāsāda, the palace of the Devas in the *Trayastrimśa* heaven, is depicted as a three storied building,[1] the highest in the sculptures. The basement storey is an open pillared hall, the lower third of its height being closed by a Buddhist railing. The building is divided horizontally into three portions. The lower third of the second storey is also closed by a Buddhist railing, above which rise three arched openings, one on each section of the building. A broad band above these, probably of moulding, runs the whole width of the temple. The third storey also has a Buddhist railing above which are two arched openings. The roof is not displayed.

The *kuṭī* in the two specimens - Gandha and Kosamba - is a single storied building enclosing an altar or throne with a garland hanging over it. It has an arched doorway, surmounted by a second archlike hood moulding. The door of the *Kosamba kuṭī* is a dome with a small pinnacle on the top, but that of the *Gandha kuṭī* has gable ends with a pinnacle at each end,[2]

The same arched door, with its semi-circular hood moulding and the same doomed roof is also noticeable in a building of similar outline. It appears to be an open-pillared hall with a throne in the middle, canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands[3]. The *Puṇya śālā* or religious house also offers an interesting piece of study. That of Pasenajita is a two storeyed building enshrining the *Dharmacakra.* The lower storey is an open pillared hall standing on a plinth or basement ornamented with a Buddhist railing. The upper storey is divided into three portions, the middle one being slightly retired. There are arched windows covered wlth semi-circular hood-mouldings and the wall of the central portion is ornamented with a Buddhist railing up to the springing of the hood-moulding. The semi-cylindrical domed roof with two gable ends, and a line of eight small pinnacles springs from this level.

1. Barua. Op. cit.
2. Cunningham. Op. cit. Pl. XVI. fig. 1.
3. Cunningham. Op. cit. p. 118

Cunningham also referred[1] to the canopies, thrones, and ascetic hermitages; but there is one uniform pattern consisting of a long room, with either a pointed or a semi-cylindrical domed roof and a small opening in each gable to give air and light. The ends of the longitudinal timbers are shown in the gables, leaving little doubt about the thatching of the roof. At Sāñchī, since the scenes depicting the architectural side are carved on *toraṇas* of the later period, they cannot be associated with the Śuṅga period, though the same type continued in later times as well. A survey of the scenes with buildings of two or three storeys, as pointed out by Smith,[2] accords with the colourful description of the splendours of such towns of ancient India, as Vaiśālī and Pātaliputra. Civil architecture is described in the Jātakas as well.

We have considered art and architecture of the Śuṅga period with particular reference to Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Buddh-Gayā and Mathurā. While much has been written on these centres of art, and there is hardly anything new by way of presentation, we have confined ourselves to certain important sculptures of this period. The contribution of this period in the realm of art and architecture is not negligible. The art may be lacking in stupendous productions, but it is very rich from the stylistic and subjective standpoints. It is no longer confined to the royal palace or the pillars of Aśoka, but is more democratic. The subject matter is, no doubt, the life of the Tathāgata, and scenes from Jātaka stories relating to his previous births. Here we notice lay devotees trying to give evidence of their *bhakti* and devotion towards the Lord, irrespective of their status. The famous sculptures carved on the gateways at Bhārhut, and the railings at Sāñchī and Buddh Gayā, which were set up during this period, are some of the best specimens of Indian art. The critic may notice some defect, particularly too many scenes in too little a space, but he can hardly be oblivious of the difficulties and the limitations imposed on the sculptor. The sudden change from wood to stone is another factor which cannot be lost sight of,

1. Op cit. p. 122.
2. Op. cit. Pl. 13 (a).

and, if the carver could be equally proficient in his new setting then certainly it is meritorious. The human form, unnoticed in the Mauryan period, is in alignment with nature and isolated objects are in full rhythm. The two important centres - Bhārhut and Sāñchī, have much in common, but there are differences based on separate traditions and methods. Sir John Marshall drew distinction with particular reference to restrained mannerism, pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness in Bhārhut sculptures, but that is not a proof to the posterior character of Bhārhut sculptures which is more impressive. The early school of Mathurā notable for the Yakṣa statues may have been the principal centre from where art diffused, but the influence of local traditions was not less, with the result that the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñchī were independent of each other, though both of them had to rely on certain guiding principles obtained through a synthesis, based on mental visualization and abstraction. We have considered the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar as well, with a view to tracing foreign influence on Indian art in that period, since it was set up by a foreigner. One may keep an open mind on this particular aspect. We have also taken into account the terraccotta figurines which have, of late, assumed great importance. The differences have been pointed out, and during this period moulds were used after an orignal model was first prepared. Here we have taken into account only some of the best terracotta figurines. Lastly, we also considered the architectural contribution of this period with reference to the encasing of the Sāñchī stūpa, the setting up of railings at different centres and the *toraṇa* at Bhārhut. Even though the Śuṅgas had no hand in the cave temples of the Western Ghats and in Orissa, the early specimens were excavated during this period. The sculptures also furnish evidence of the town architectural plan, which is an interesting study. On the whole, we can conclude that, despite the disturbance and turmoil caused by the two foreign invasions during this period, the activities on the speculative and materialistic sides were not repressed and the contribution of this period is fairly notable.

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